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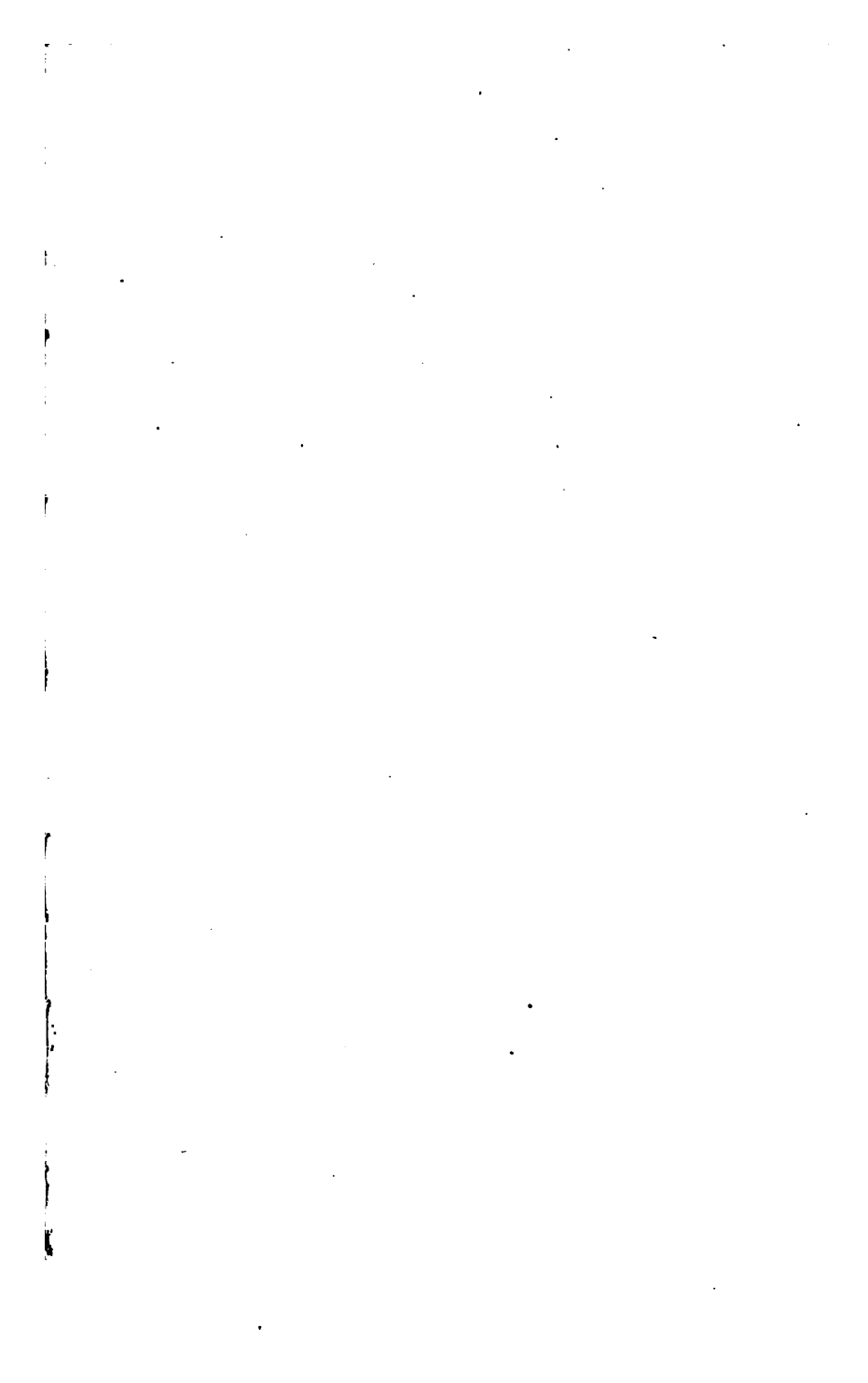
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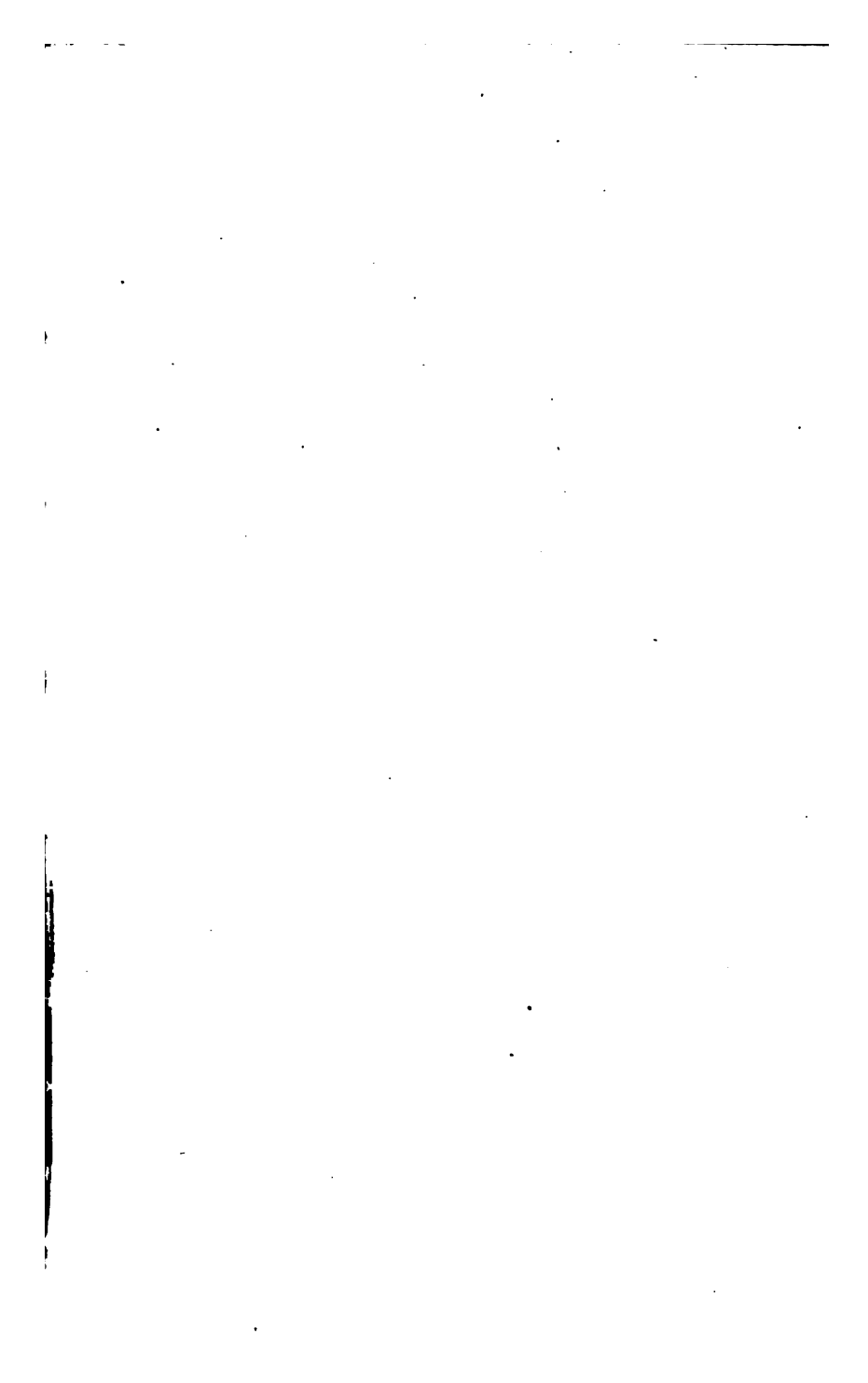
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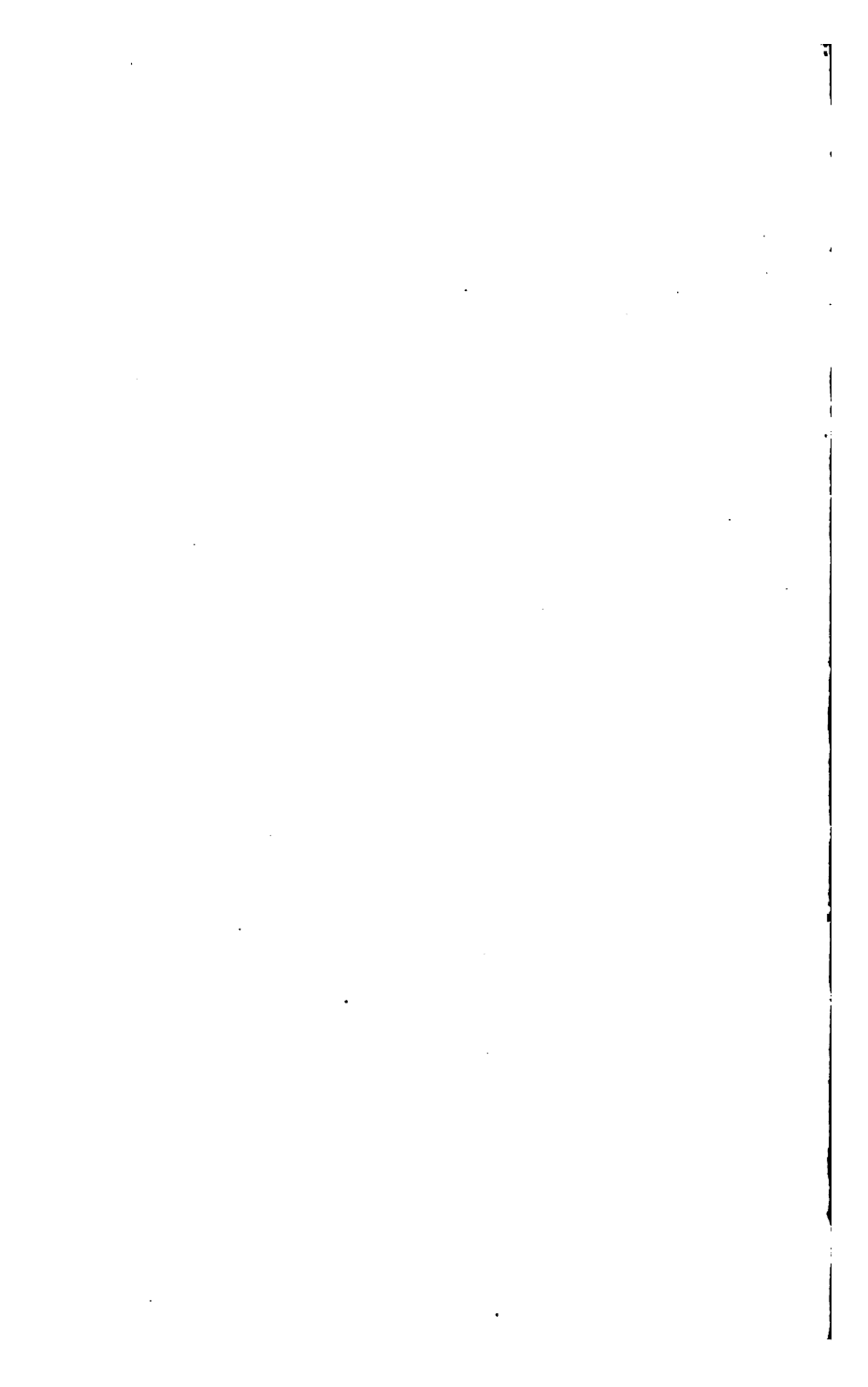
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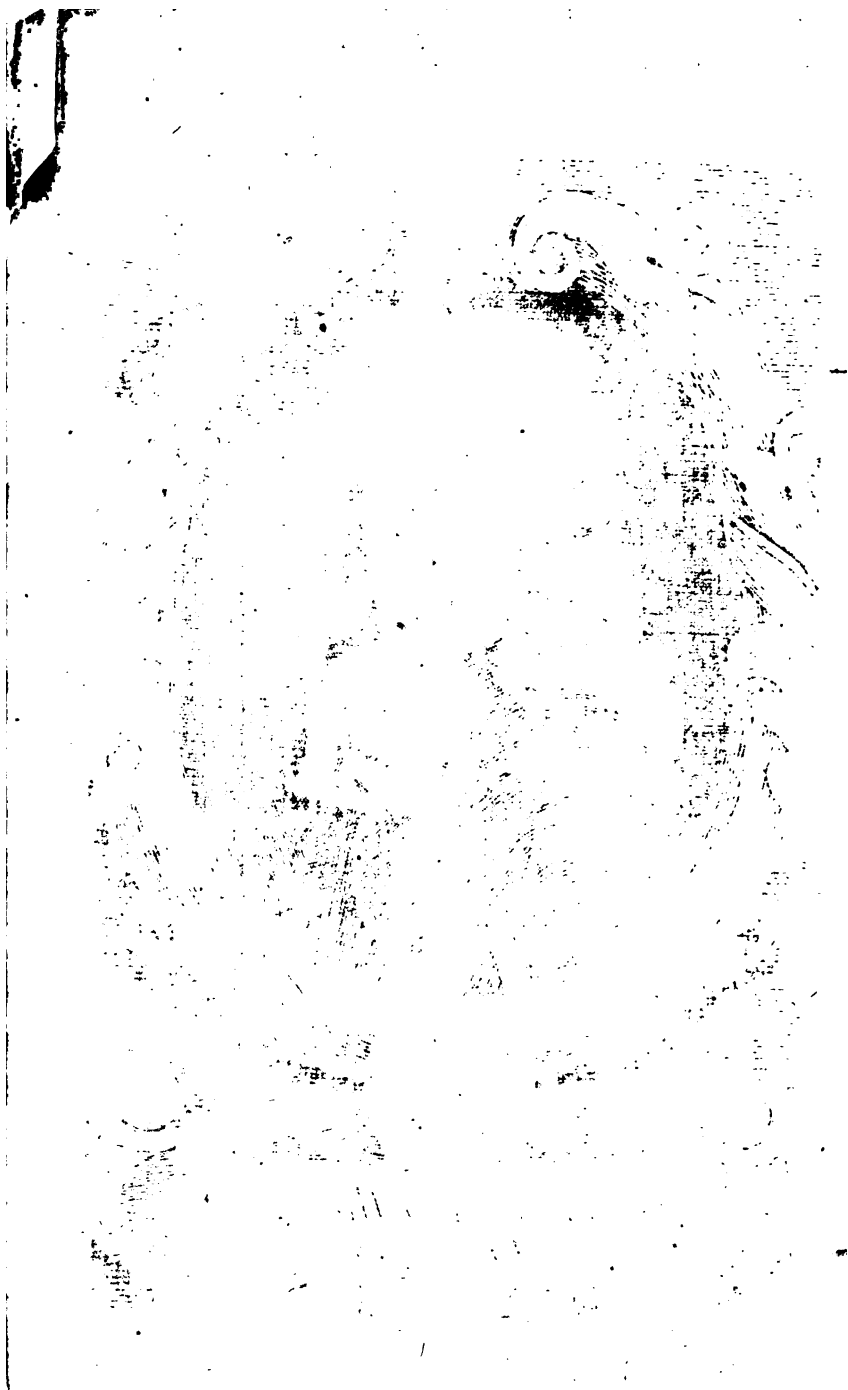
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Edmund Ludlow Esq.
Lieut. Gen!!

MEMOIRS

OF

Edmund Ludlow *Esq;*

Lieutenant General of the Horse,
Commander in Chief of the Forces in
Ireland, One of the Council of State,
and a Member of the Parliament
which began on *November 3, 1640.*

In Two Volumes.

VOL. I.



Switzerland,
Printed at *Vivay* in the Canton of *Bern*,
MDCXCVIII.

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To their EXCELLENCIES
The LORDS of the Council
FOR THE
Canton of BERN.

YOUR Excellencies having
been the Protectors of the
Author of these *Memoirs*
during the many Years of his
Exile, are justly entituled to
whatever Acknowledgment can
be made for those Noble Favours,
which you extended so seasonable
and so constantly to him and his
Fellow-Sufferers:

A

'Tis

ii *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

'Tis well known to your Lordships, that the Lieutenant General would have accounted himself happy to lay down that Life for your Service, which you had preserved by your Generosity. But since he lived not to have so Glorious an Occasion of expressing his Gratitude, (no Prince, how powerful soever, being hardly enough to attack that Liberty which is so well secured by the Bravery and good Discipline of your own People) nothing now remains to be a Monument of his Duty, and your Bounty, but these Papers; and therefore as a just Debt, they are most humbly presented to your Excellencies.

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PREFACE.

NO History can furnish us with the Example of a Man whose Life and Actions have been universally applauded: Malice, or a different Interest, being always ready to wound the Noblest Integrity. The Virtues of Scipio and Cato, the best and greatest of the Romans, could not preserve them from the Assaults of Envy and Calumny; of which, the groundless Accusations of the former to the People, and the Volumes of Aspersions published against the latter by the Usurper Julius, are a sufficient Testimony. 'Tis therefore no wonder that Men who

Cromwel, who knew him to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, always finding out some Pretext to hinder the conferring that Character upon him. The finishing Part was only wanting to the compleat Suppression of the Irish Rebellion, and the last stroke had been given by this Gentleman, if the Usurpation of Cromwel had not prevented him. Under that Power he never acted: And tho the Usurper employed all his Arts to gain him, he remained immovable, and would not be perswaded to give the least Colour or Countenance to his Ambition. After the Death of Cromwel some Endeavours were made to cause the Publick Affairs to revert to their former Channel, in which Attempts our Author was not an idle Spectator. But Oliver had so choaked the Springs, that the Torrent took another Course; and all the Efforts that were made to restore the Commonwealth proving vain and fruitless, Charles the Second was permitted to act his part. Thereupon this Gentleman, who had gone through innumerable Hazards for the Liberties of England, was stripped of his Estate, and under the odious name of Traitor forced to abandon his native Country. That he escaped the Searches made after him in England, and safely arrived in Switzerland, was almost a Miracle. The Preservation of his Life, which was in the utmost hazard, by reason of the Prejudices then reigning, obliged him to confine himself to the deepest Privacy, and for a short time kept him unknown, till his exemplary Life made him

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him not only to be observed, but admired. This Stranger for more than thirty Years was the Care of that Country; and it may be justly said, that by their Vigilance rather than his own, the frequent Designs that were formed against his Life, were defeated, and some of them exemplarily punished on the Heads of their Authors.

During his Exile he wrote the following Memoirs, conjecturing, and I think he was not mistaken, that some of the Family of Charles the Martyr might act such things as would make his Country relish the Relation, and regret the Usage he had found. But it can never be expected that all Men should be of the same Mind. And therefore when the whole Kingdom of Ireland, London-derry only excepted, was unhappily fallen into the hands of the Irish Papists, and the Lieutenant General, I hope I may say it without Offence, was sent for, as a fit Person to be employed to recover it from them: When the British Refugees were glad to hear him named for that Service, and he in an Extasse to serve his Country any where, was arrived in England; the Reception he found there was such, as ought rather to be forgotten, than transmitted to Posterity, with any Remarks upon that Conjunction. Thus being denied the Honour of dying for his Country, he returned to the more hospitable Place from whence he came. But England had not one good Wish the less from him on the account of her last Unkindness. For at the
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viii The PREFACE.

very Article of Death some of his last Words were Wishes for the Prosperity, Peace and Glory of his Country; and that Religion and Liberty might be established there on so sure and solid a Foundation, that the Designs of ill Men might never bring them into Danger for the time to come.

ME-

MEMOIRS

OF

EDMUND LUDLOW, Esq;

HAVING seen our Cause betrayed, and the most solemn Promises that could be made to the Asserters of it, openly violated, I departed from my Native Country. And hoping that my Retirement may protect me from the Rage and Malice of my Enemies, I cannot think it a mispending of some part of my leisure, to employ it in setting down the most remarkable Counsels and Actions of the Parties engaged in the late Civil War, which spread it self through the Kingdoms of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; wherein I shall not strictly confine my self to a relation of such things only in which I was personally concerned, but also give the best Account I can of such other memorable Occurrences of those Times as I have learn'd from Persons well inform'd, and of unsuspected Fidelity.

Those who make any Enquiry into the History of *K. James's* Reign, will find, that tho his Inclinations were strongly bent to render himself Absolute, yet he chose rather to carry on that Design by Fraud than Violence. But *K. Charles* having taken a nearer view of De-

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spotick Government in his Journey to *France* and *Spain*, tempted with the glittering Shew and imaginary Pleasures of that empty Pageantry, immediately after his Ascent to the Throne pulled off the Masque, and openly discovered his Intentions to make the Crown absolute and independent.

In the beginning of his Reign he marry'd a Daughter of *France*, who was not wanting on her part to press him, upon all occasions, to pursue the Design of enlarging his Power, not omitting to solícite him also to mould the Church of *England* to a nearer Compliance with the See of *Rome* : Wherein she was but too well seconded by corrupt Ministers of State, of whom some were professed Papists ; and an ambitious Clergy, whose Influence upon the King was always greater than could well consist with the Peace and Happiness of *England*. 'Tis true, he called some Parliaments in the first Years of his Reign ; but the People soon became sensible he did it rather to empty their Purses than to redress their Grievances. The *Petition of Right*, as it was called, passed in one of them ; yet by the manner of passing it, and more by the way of keeping, or rather breaking it in almost every Particular, they clearly saw what they were to expect from him. And tho by the Votes passed in the House of Commons, (after a Message from the King to require their Attendance in order to a Dissolution, thereby to prevent their En-
quiry

quiry into his Father's Death) complaining of the Grievances of the Nation, and asserting the Liberties thereof, declaring it Treason for any to pay Custom or other Taxes without the Authority of Parliament, locking the Door of the House of Commons, and compelling the Speaker to continue in the Chair till it pass'd, He might have observed the Pulse, of the Nation beating high towards Liberty; yet contrary to his Promise to preserve the *Privileges of Parliament*, he caused the Studies of their Members to be searched, their Papers to be seized, and their Persons to be imprisoned in the *Tower*, where Sir *John Elliot*, who was one of them, lost his Life. Divers others suffered in their Health and Estates, being prosecuted with all Severity at the Common Law, for discharging their Duty in Parliament. After the Dissolution of which, a Proclamation was published, whereby it was made criminal in the People to speak any more of Parliaments.

The King having assumed this extraordinary Power, resolved to make War against *France*, not upon the account of those of the Reformed Religion, as was pretended, but grounded upon personal Discontents, and to gratify the Revenge and Lust of his Favourite.

The *Rochellers*, who once before, upon Encouragement from *England*, had endeavoured to defend their just Rights against the Encroachments of the French King, till being deserted by the King of *England*, they were

necessitated to accept Terms from their King very disadvantageous to their Affairs, were again by frequent Importunities and fair Promises prevailed with (tho very unwillingly) to assist the English with Provisions, and such other things as they wanted, in their Expedition against the Isle of *Rhee*: From whence our Forces being repulsed, the French King sent his Army against the Protestants of *Rochel*, whose Provisions being before exhausted by the English, they applied to the King of *England* for Succours, according to his Promise. Who, as if he intended to assist them effectually, caused a certain Number of Ships to be fitted out, under the Conduct of Sir *John Pennington*. But private Differences being soon after composed, Sir *John* receiv'd a Letter from the King, signed *Charles Rex*, which was afterwards found by the Parliament amongst his Papers, requiring him to dispose of those Ships as he should be directed by the French King; and if any should refuse to obey those Orders, to sink or fire them. The King's Command was put in execution accordingly, and by the help of those Ships the French became Masters of the Sea, and thereby inabled to raise a Work composed of Earth, Stones and Piles, with which they entirely shut up the Mouth of the Harbour, and so prevented them from any Relief that way. Being thus straitned on all sides, they were forced to yield to the Pleasure of their King; and that strong Town of *Rochel*, where-

wherein the Security of the Protestants of *France* chiefly consisted, by this horrible Treachery was delivered up to the Papists, and those of the Reform'd Religion in all Parts of that Kingdom exposed to the Rage of their bloody and cruel Enemies.

About this time the most profitable Preferments in the English Church were given to those of the Clergy who were most forward to promote the Imposition of new Ceremonies and Superstitions: An Oath was enjoined by them with an *&c.* several new Holy Days introduced and required to be observed by the People with all possible Solemnity, at the same time that they were encouraged to profane the Lord's Day, by a Book commonly called, *The Book of Sports*, printed and published by the King's especial Command.

But this was not the only Work of which the Clergy were judged capable; and therefore divers of them entered the Lists as Champions of the Prerogative, asserting that the Possessions and Estates of the Subject did of Right belong to the King, and that he might dispose of them at his pleasure; thereby vacating and annulling, as much as in them lay, all the Laws of *England* that secure a Property to the People. Arbitrary Courts were erected, and the Power of others enlarged; such were the *High Commission Court*, the *Star-Chamber*, the *Court of Honour*, the *Court of Wards*, the *Court of Requests*, &c. *Patents* and *Monopolies* of al-

most every thing were granted to private Men, to the great Damage of the Publick. *Knight-hood, Coat and Conduct-Money*, and many other illegal Methods were revived and put in execution, to rob the People, in order to support the Profusion of the Court. And that our Liberties might be extirpated at once, and we become Tenants at will to the King, that rare Invention of *Ship-Money* was found out by *Finch*, whose Solicitation and Importunities prevailed with the major part of the Judges of *Westminster-Hall* to declare for Law, *That for the Supply of Shipping to defend the Nation, the King might impose a Tax upon the People; That he was to be Judge of the Necessity of such Supply, and of the Quantity to be imposed for it; and that he might Imprison as well as Destrain in case of Refusal.* Some there were who out of a hearty Affection to the Service of their Country, and a true English Spirit, opposed these illegal Proceedings: Amongst whom *Mr. John Hampden of Buckinghamshire*, *Judge Croke*, and *Judge Hatton*, were of the most eminent.

Prerogative being wound up to this height in *England*, and the Affairs of the Church tending to a Conjunction with the See of *Rome*; before any farther Progress should be made therein here, it was thought expedient, that the Pulse of *Scotland* should be felt, and they perswaded or compelled to the like Conformity. To this end a Form of Publick Prayer was sent to *Scotland*, more nearly approaching the Roman Office

Office than that used in *England*. The reading of this New Service-Book at *Edinburgh* was first interrupted by a poor Woman; but the People were so generally discontented with the Book it self, as well as the manner of imposing it, that she was soon seconded by the Generality of them; those who officiated hardly escaping with their Lives. This produced divers Meetings of many of the Nobility, Clergy and Gentry, who entered into an Agreement or Covenant to root out Episcopacy, Heresy, and Superstition.

Those of the Clergy of *England*, who had been the chief Advisers and Promoters of this Violence, prevailed with the King to cause all such as should persist in their Opposition after a certain time, to be proclaimed Traitors. But the Scots not at all affrighted with these Menaces, resolved to make good their former Undertaking. Which the King perceiving, and that this violent way took not effect, began to incline to more moderate Counsels; and by Commission empowered the Marquis of *Hamilton* to treat them into a Submission, consenting to the Suppression of the *Liturgy*, *High Commission Court*, and *Articles of Perth*. But the Scots insisting upon the Abolition of Episcopacy, and the King refusing his Consent to it, they did it themselves in an Assembly held at *Glasco*: and being informed that the King was preparing an Army to compel them to Obedience, agreed upon the raising of

some Forces to defend themselves.

The Clergy in *England* were not wanting to promote the New Levies against the Scots, contributing largely thereunto; which was but reasonable, it being manifest to all that they were the principal Authors and Fomentors of these Troubles. The Nobility and Gentry were likewise required to further this Expedition; in which, tho divers of them did appear, yet was it rather out of Compliment than Affection to the Design, being sensible of the Oppressions they themselves lay under; and how dangerous to the People of *England* a thorow Success against the Scots might prove,

The King perceiving an Universal Dislike to this War, as well in the People as in the Officers and Souldiers of his Army, concluded an Agreement with the Scots at *Berwick*, the 17th of *June*, 1639. But upon his return to *London*, under colour that many false Copies of the said Articles were published and dispersed by the Scots, to the great Dishonour of the King, the said Agreement was disowned, and order'd to be burnt by the Hands of the Hangman.

Thereupon hoping that a Parliament would espouse his Quarrel, and furnish him with Money for the carrying on of his Design, he summoned one to meet at *Westminster* on the 3^d of *April*, 1640. which, sitting but a little time, thereby obtained the Name of the *short Parliament*. The King by his Agents earnestly pressed them to grant him present Supplies for the Use
of

of his Army; but they sensible of former Usage after they had gratified him in that Particular, and of the insupportable Burdens and Oppressions they lay under, refused to grant any Subsidies till their Grievances should be redressed: Whereupon the King put a Period to their sitting the fifth of May following; the Earl of Strafford, and others of his Council, advising him so to do, and to make use of other Means for his Supply; as appeared to the ensuing Parliament, by the Minutes of the Secretary of State, taken at that Cabal, and produced at the Trial of the said Earl: The Sum of whose Advice was to this effect. *Sir, You have now tried your People, and are denied by them, therefore you are clear before God and Man, if you make use of other Means for your Supply: You have an Army in Ireland, &c.* This Counsel was prosecuted, and new Preparations made for the carrying on of the War against the Scots; all imaginable ways used to raise Supplies, *Privy Seals* sent throughout the Nation for the *Loan of Money, Ship-Money, Coat and Conduct-Money* pressed to the height; Commodities taken up on Credit, and sold for ready Money; Warrants also were delivered out to press Men to serve in the Army; Brass-Money was propounded, and some prepared, but that Project took no effect. The Clergy being permitted and encouraged by the King to sit in Convocation after the Dissolution of the Parliament, took upon them not only to frame Canons and Oaths,

Oaths, but also to impose four Shillings in the Pound upon Ecclesiastical Benefices throughout the Kingdom. The King, to give life to the Advance of his Army, marched with them in Person; the Earl of *Northumberland*, as most popular, wearing the name of General, whilst *Strafford* with the Title of Lieutenant General had the principal Management of all.

The City of *London* had refused to pay some of the illegal Taxes before-mentioned; whereupon divers of their chief Officers were imprisoned, and an Order issued forth to take away the Sword from the Lord Mayor. Whereupon the People rise, and beset the House of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who in conjunction with the Earl of *Strafford*, was supposed to put the King upon these violent and unwarrantable Courses; but he made his Escape by Water for that time; and one of the most active of the People was seized and executed, which served only to exasperate the rest.

Upon the near approach of the English and Scots Army, a considerable Party of each side encountered; and the English, contrary to their wonted Custom, retired in Disorder, not without Shame and some Loss. Of such Force and Consequence is a Belief and full Persuasion of the Justice of an Undertaking, tho managed by an Enemy, in other respects inconsiderable.

The King, startled at the Unsuccessfulness of his first Attempt, upon the Petition of a considerable number of the well-affected Nobility,

requesting him, that to avoid the Effusion of more Blood, he would call an Assembly of the Nobility, consented thereunto. This Council accordingly met at *York*, and advised the King to a Cessation of Arms, and the Calling of a Parliament to compose Differences; which, to the great trouble of the Clergy, and other Incendiaries, he promised to do; assuring the Scots of the Paiment of twenty thousand Pounds a Month to maintain their Army, till the Pleasure of the Parliament should be known. In order to which, Writs were issued out for the Meeting of a Parliament on the 3^d of *November*, 1640.

The time prefix'd for their assembling being come, they met accordingly: and as they were very sensible that nothing but an absolute Necessity permitted their coming together, so they resolved to improve this happy Opportunity to free the People from their Burdens, and to punish the Authors of the late Disorders. To this end they declared against *Monopolies*, and expelled the Authors of them out of the House. The Opinions of the Judges concerning Ship-Money they voted unjust and *illegal*, fining and imprisoning those that had warranted the Lawfulness thereof. And that the Offenders against the Publick might not escape, they ordered the Sea-Ports to be diligently guarded, and all Passengers to be strictly examined.

This being done, they impeached the Lord Keeper *Finch*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Arch-

Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, of High Treason, in endeavouring to subvert the Laws, and to erect an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power. They declared, that they would pay the English and Scots Armies to the end of *May 1641.* and assist the Prince *Palatine* with Men and Money to recover his Country. And now having the Charge of two Armies to pay, and all Men suspecting they might be abruptly dissolved, as had often hapned before, and therefore refusing to credit them with such Sums as were necessary, unless an Act might pass to secure their sitting till they should think fit to dissolve themselves by Act of Parliament ; the King gave his Assent to one drawn up and passed to that purpose. Another Act likewise passed to assert , that according to the antient Fundamental Laws of *England*, a Parliament ought to be held every Year, and directing, that in case one was not called in three Years, the Lord Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal should issue out Writs, as is therein expressed ; and if he fail in his Duty, he is declared guilty of High Treason, and a certain number of Lords impowered to summon the said Parliament : and if they should neglect so to do, the Sheriffs and Constables are vested with the same Authority. But if it should happen that all the forementioned Powers should be wanting in their Duty, the People of *England* are thereby authorized to put the said Act in execution, by meeting and electing Members to serve in Parliament,

liament, tho not summoned by any Officers appointed to that end.

The Parliament then proceeded to correct the Abuses that had been introduced in the preceding Years: Whereupon *the Star-Chamber, the High Commission Court, the Court of Honour,* with some others, were taken away by Act of Parliament; and the Power of the Council-Table restrained. The Commissioners of the Custom-House, who had collected Customs contrary to Law, were fined; and such as had been imprisoned by any of the above-mentioned Arbitrary Courts, were set at liberty.

A Protestation was also agreed upon by the Lords and Commons, which they took, and presented to others to take; whereby all those that took it, obliged themselves to defend and maintain the Power and Privileges of Parliament, the Rights and Liberties of the People, to use their utmost Endeavours to bring to condign Punishment all those who should by Force, or otherwise, do any thing to the contrary, and to stand by and justify all such as should do any thing in prosecution of the said Protestation.

The Day prefix'd for the Earl of *Strafford's* Trial being come, he was brought before the House of Peers; where the Charge against him was managed by Members of the House of Commons appointed to that end. The chief Heads of the Accusation were; That he had

governed the Kingdom of *Ireland* in an Arbitrary manner: That he had retained the Revenues of the Crown without rendring a due Account of them: That he had encouraged and promoted the Romish Religion: That he had endeavoured to create Feuds and Quarrels between *England* and *Scotland*: That he had laboured to render the Parliament suspected and odious to the King: That he was the Author of that Advice, *That since the Parliament had denied to grant the King such Supplies as he demanded, he was at liberty to raise them by such Means as he thought fit; and that he had an Irish Army that would assist him to that end.* It being the Custom that a Lord High Steward should be made to preside at the Trial of a Peer, that Honour was conferred upon the Earl of *Arundel*. The King, the Queen, the House of Commons, the Deputies of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, with many other Persons of Quality of both Sexes, were there present. I remember the Earl of *Strafford* in his Defence objected against the Evidence of the Earl of *Cork*, denying him to be a competent Witness, because his Enemy. To which *George Lord Digby*, who was appointed one of the Managers of the Charge against him, replied; That if that Objection should be of any weight with the Court, the Earl of *Strafford* had found out a certain way to secure himself from any farther Prosecution. Yet this Man who then spoke with so much Vigour, soon after altered his Language, and made

made a Speech to the House in his favour, which he caused to be printed ; and also surreptitiously withdrew a Paper from the Committee, containing the principal Evidence against the said Earl. The Parliament resenting this Prevarication, ordered his Speech to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman.

The House of Commons having passed a Bill for the Condemnation of the Earl, it was carried to the Lords for their Concurrence, which they gave. The King not satisfied therewith, consulted with the Privy Council, some Judges, and four Bishops. And all of them, except one, advise the throwing of *Jonas* over-board for the appeasing of the Storm. Upon which the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord Privy Seal, and two more were commissioned by the King to sign the Warrant for his Execution : Which they did upon the twelfth of *May* following ; and the 22^d of the same Month the Earl of *Strafford* was beheaded accordingly.

At this time a treacherous Design was set on foot, not without the Participation of the King, as appear'd under his own Hand, to bring up the English Army, and by Force to dissolve the Parliament ; the Plunder of *London* being promised to the Officers and Souldiers as a Reward for that Service: This was confessed by the Lord *Goring*, Mr. *Piercy*, and others. The Scots Army was also tried, and the four Northern Counties offered to be given to them in case they will undertake the same

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Design. And tho neither of these Attempts did succeed, yet the King pleased himself with hopes, that a seasonable time for dissolving the Parliament would come; and then all Power reverting into his own Hands, he would deal with their new enacted Laws as he had done before with the *Petition of Right*, and with their Members as he had done with those of the former Parliaments. And that he might not long languish in this Expectation, he sent to the House, desiring that at once they would make their full Demands, and prepare Bills accordingly for his Assent, assuring them of his Readiness to comply with their Desires. But they perceiving the Design, return'd for answer: That they could not suddenly resolve on so weighty a Work, but would do it with all possible speed. In the mean time, to improve the present Opportunity, they prevail with the King to pass an Act for the Exclusion of the Bishops out of the House of Lords; for tho he was unwilling to grant the Parliament any thing, yet the State of his Affairs was such, that he durst deny them no reasonable thing. And now having paid to the Scots and English Armies what was due to them, they dismissed them to their respective homes.

The King having laid his Designs in *Ireland*, as will afterwards appear, was, not without great Difficulty, prevailed with by the Parliament, to consent to the disbanding of those eight thousand Irish Papists that had been raised there

there by the Earl of *Strafford*. Soon after which he resolved upon a Journey to *Scotland*; and tho the Parliament endeavoured to dissuade him from it, or at least to defer it to a fitter Opportunity; he refused to hearken to them, under pretence that the Affairs of that Kingdom necessarily required his Presence: but in truth his great business was, to leave no means unattempted to take off that Nation from their Adherence to the Parliament of *England*. Before his Departure he signed a Commission to certain Persons, empowering them to pass the Bills that should be tender'd in his Absence.

Whilst he was about this Work in *Scotland* the News of the Irish Rebellion was brought to him; that the Papists throughout that Kingdom were in Arms; that their Design to surprize and seize the Castle of *Dublin* had not succeeded, being discovered by one *O'Connell*; a Servant of Sir *John Clotworthy's*; and that the Lord *Macquire* and *Mac-mahon*, who were appointed to that end, were taken, and sent into *England*, where they were soon after executed for the same. The News of this Rebellion (as I have heard from Persons of undoubted Credit) was not displeasing to the King, tho it was attended with the Massacre of many thousands of the Protestants there.

Having made what Progress he could in *Scotland*, confirming by Act of Parliament not only what he had formerly granted them, but also what they had done in their Assembly at

Glasgow, and in effect whatsoever they desired of him, he returned to *London*; where being received with Acclamations, and treated at the Expence of the City, he became elevated to that degree, that in his first Speech to the Commons he sharply reprov'd them, for that instead of thanking him for what he had done, they continued to multiply their Demands and Dissatisfactions: Whereupon the Parliament were confirmed in their Suspicions, that he design'd to break what he had already granted, so soon as he had Opportunity and Power in his hands, to plead that he was under a Force, as some of his Predecessors had done; and so reverse what had been enacted for the Good of the People; revenge himself on those who had been Instruments in compelling him thereto, and fortify himself against the like for the future. These Apprehensions made them earnestly insist upon settling the Militia of the Nation in such hands as both Houses of Parliament should recommend to him, particularly representing the great Dissatisfaction of the City of *London* that Sir *William Balfour*, for refusing to permit the Earl of *Strafford* to escape, was dismissed from his Charge of Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and the Government of it put into the hands of one *Lunsford*, a Souldier of Fortune, of a profligate Conversation, and fit for any wicked Design. With much difficulty this *Lunsford* was removed, and Sir *John Conyers* put into his place: but the Parliament and City not satisfi-
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ed with this Choice, and having discovered that Sir *John Suckling*, under pretence of raising a Regiment for *Portugal*, was bringing together a number of Men to seize the *Tower* for the King, it was at last entrusted to the Custody of the Lord Mayor of *London*.

About this time great Numbers of English Protestants flying from the bloody Hands of the Irish Rebels, arrived in *England*, filling all Places with sad complaints of their Cruelties to the Protestants of that Kingdom. Whereupon the Parliament earnestly pressed the King to proclaim them Rebels, but could not obtain it to be done till after many Weeks; and then but forty of those Proclamations were printed, and not above half of them published: which was the more observed and resented, by reason of the different Treatment that the Scots had met with, who no sooner appeared in a much better Cause, but they were forthwith declared Rebels in every Parish-Church within the Kingdom of *England*. The Rebels in *Ireland* pretended a Commission from the King for what they did, which so alarm'd the People of *England*, that the King thought himself necessitated to do something therein; and therefore to carry on his Design, he acquainted the Parliament, that when an Army was raised, he would go in Person to reduce them: but they apprehending this pretended Resolution to be only in order to put himself at the Head of an Army, that he might reduce the Parliament

to his Will, refused to consent; and procured an Act to pass, for the leaving of that War to the management of the two Houses; the King obliging himself not to give Terms to any of the Rebels, or to make Peace with them without the Parliament's Consent. In this Act Provision was made for the satisfying of such as should advance Mony for the reduction of *Ireland*, out of the Rebels Lands, in several Provinces, according to the Rates therein mentioned: Upon which considerable Sums of Moneys were soon brought in. The Parliament neglecting no Opportunity to carry on this necessary Work, procured some Forces to be sent from *Scotland* into the North of *Ireland*, and put into their hands the Town and Castle of *Carrickfergus*: They also dispatched several Regiments of English thither, who were blessed with wonderful Success against the Rebels, particularly about *Dublin*, where the Earl of *Ormond* commanded. Those of the English Pale by fair Pretences procured Arms to be delivered to them, yet basely cut off a Party of five or six hundred Men sent to relieve Sir *Richard Tichburn*, then besieged at *Droghedah*, who finding no hopes of Relief, made his Retreat to *Dublin* by Sea. The Lord *Forbes*, a Scots-man, was sent with a Party into *Munster*, where he greatly annoyed the Enemy; and being furnished with some Ships, sailed up the *Shannon*, and secured several Places upon that River, particularly *Bonratte*, the Residence
of

of the Earl of *Thomond*, where he found about threescore Horse fit for Service. Major *Adams* was made Governour of that House: But the Enemy frequently resorting to a Place called *Six-Miles-Bridge*, about two or three Miles from thence, the English pressed the Earl to assist them to fall upon the Irish; who unwilling to oppose the English Interest, and no less to make the Rebels his Enemies, endeavoured to excuse himself; yet upon second thoughts resolved to comply, if some care might be taken to spare his Kindred: Whereupon some of the English Officers proposing to him that his Relations should distinguish themselves by some Mark, and he concluding it to be in order to secure them to the English Interest, chose rather to withdraw himself into *England*, and to leave his House to the Souldiers, where (tho he pretended he had no Money to lend them to supply their wants) they found two thousand Pounds buried in the Walls, which they made use of for the paiment of their Forces.

The King finding that nothing less would satisfy the Parliament than a thorow Correction of what was amiss, and full Security of their Rights from any Violation for the future, considered how to put a stop to their Proceedings; and to that end encouraged a great number of loose debauch'd Fellows about the Town to repair to *Whitehall*, where a constant Table was provided for their Entertainment. Many Gentlemen of the Inns of Court were tamper'd

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with

with to assist him in his Design, and things brought to that pass, that one of them said publickly in my hearing; What! Shall we suffer these Fellows at *Westminster* to domineer thus? *Let us go into the Country, and bring up our Tenants to pull them out.* Which Words not being able to bear, I questioned him for them; and he either out of fear of the publick Justice, or of my Resentment, came to me the next Morning, and asked pardon for the same; which by reason of his Youth, and want of Experience, I passed by. By these Actions of the King the Suspicions of the Parliament were justly increased, and therefore they desired leave to provide a Guard to secure themselves from Violence; which the King refused to grant, unless it might be of his own Appointment, alledging that their Fears were groundless: But they thought otherwise, being convinced that neither what had been already done was sufficiently secured, unless the Militia might be placed in such hands as they could trust; nor themselves safe, unless attended by a Guard of their own Nomination.

The King's violent ways not succeeding, he fell upon other Measures in appearance more moderate, yet continued his Resolution to subdue the Parliament: and to colour his Proceedings with a Form of Law, he sent Sir *Edward Herbert* his Attorney General, and a Member of the House of Commons, to accuse of High Treason, in the Name of his Majesty, Mr.
William

William Stroud, *Mr. John Pym*, *Mr. John Hampden*, *Sir Arthur Haslerig*, and *Mr. Denzil Holles*, Members of that House; and the Lord *Kimbolton* of the House of Lords: acquainting them, that he intended to proceed against them according to Law, upon the following Articles:

1. That they intended to change the Government of the State, and to dispossess the King of his Sovereign and Lawful Power, and to attribute to Subjects an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power.

2. That by false Reports and Calumnies sown against his Majesty, they had endeavoured to alienate from him the Affections of his People.

3. That they had done their utmost to debauch the Troops of his Majesty, and to engage them in their perfidious Designs.

4. That they had traiterously sought to overthrow the Rights and true Form of Parliaments.

5. That they had used Force and Terror to constrain the Parliament to engage in their pernicious Designs; and to that end had stirred up Tumults against the King and Parliament.

6. That they had by a great Treason resolved to raise Arms, and had actually raised Arms against the King.

7. That they had endeavoured to procure a Foreign Power to invade *England*.

Upon this the House made answer to the Attorney General, that they were the proper Judges of their own Members: That upon his producing the Articles that he had to accuse their Members with, and the consideration of them, if they found cause, they would leave them to be proceeded against according to Law; but commanded him at his Peril not to proceed any farther against them, or any other Member, without their Consent. After which they published a Declaration, forbidding the seizing of any of their Members without their Order; authorizing them to stand upon their Guard; and requiring all Justices of the Peace, Constables, and other Officers and People, to be assisting to them; and sent the Attorney General to Prison, for his Proceedings in this matter.

The King finding his Instruments thus discouraged, and being resolved to remove all Obstructions in his way, went in Person to the House of Commons, attended not only with his ordinary Guard of Pensioners, but also with those Desperadoes that for some time he had entertained at *Whitehall*, to the number of three or four hundred, armed with Partizans, Sword and Pistol. At the door of the House he left his Guard commanded by the Lord *Roxberry*, entering, accompanied only by the Prince *Palatine*; where taking possession of the Speaker's Chair, and not seeing those that he looked for, he said, *The Birds are flown*. For upon notice given by a Lady of the Court of the King's
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Intention, they were retired into the City. The King then demanded of the Speaker where such and such were, naming the five Members: to which he answered in these Words; *I have neither Eyes to see, Ears to hear, nor Tongue to speak in this place, save what this House gives me.*

The King replied, *I think you are in the right*: and then addressing himself to the House, said; That he was sorry he had been necessitated to come thither: That no King of *England* had been more careful to preserve the Privileges of Parliament than he desired to be; but that those five Members being dangerous Persons, he had been obliged to pursue them, not by Force, but by the ordinary Forms of Justice: That he hoped the Parliament would send them to him, to justify themselves, if they could; if not, he knew how to find them: Which said, he retired. The Parliament sensible of this violation of their Privileges, and fearing they might be further intrenched upon, ordered a Committee of the House to sit in the City of *London*, whither their five Members were gone before for Protection. The King follow'd them thither with a slender, or rather no Guard; (so far was he from fearing either Parliament or City) designing to engage the Citizens to deliver up the five Members to him, and to stand by him in this horrid Enterprize; but they would not be perswaded to comply with his Desires in that matter. This violent Attempt proving unsuccessful, the Parliament, to assert their
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just Rights, voted it to be a Breach of their Privileges; and that the like might be prevented for the future, after the Committee had sat a few days in the City, they returned to *Westminster*, accompanied with Guards from the City both by Land and Water. Which the King being informed of, and finding that the Design which he had laid had highly provoked the Parliament and People, he retired to *Hampton-Court*, whither those that he had formerly entertained at *Whitehall* soon repaired; and at *Kingston* upon *Thames* appeared in a military Posture, with the Lord *Digby* and Colonel *Lunsford* at the head of them. The two Houses having notice thereof, desired the King to disperse the said Troops, and to return to the Parliament. The Lord *Digby* was also required to attend his Duty in the House: but he being conscious of his own Guilt, and knowing that the King's Affairs were not yet in a posture to bid open defiance to the Parliament, chose rather to betake himself to flight; as the Queen did soon after, upon notice that the two Houses were about to accuse her of High Treason: both of them designing not only to withdraw themselves from the Prosecution of the Parliament, but also to make what Preparations they could for the raising of an Army against them: In order to which the Queen carried with her the Jewels of the Crown, and pawned them in *Holland* for Arms and Mony. The Parliament having discovered that the Lord *Digby* had by a
Letter

Letter advised the King to retire to some Place of Strength, and there to declare against them, they caused him to be proclaimed a Traitor : Notwithstanding which, the King, instead of returning to *London* at the earnest Desire of both Houses, in prosecution of the Lord *Digby's* Counsel, went farther from them. During his Absence many Papers passed between him and the Parliament. The chief Aim of those of the latter was to persuade the King to return to *London*, and to settle the Militia in such hands as the Parliament should advise ; that so all Jealousies between him and his People might be removed. Those from the King were to let them know, that he could not part with the Militia, esteeming it to be the best Jewel of his Crown ; nor return to *London* with Safety to his Person. The Declarations on both sides proving ineffectual, and the King's Designs both at home and abroad being grown ripe, he expressed his Dissatisfactions more openly, and withdrew to *York*, where several Lords, and others affected to his Interest, resorted to him with Plate, Money, Men, Horses and Arms : Amongst whom were many Papists ; who, tho' to cover the King's Designs from the People, they were forbidden to come into the Court, were yet privately encouraged, and daily listed and armed. And as the distance of *York* from the Parliament was one reason why the King went thither, so its Nearness to *Hull* was another. This Town he endeavoured to possess

possess himself of, being a Place of Strength, where great Quantities of Arms and Ammunition had been laid up, upon disbanding the Army which was lately on foot in those Parts, and very convenient for the landing of Men from *Holland*. But the Parliament suspecting the Design, had sent Sir *John Hotham* thither to keep and defend it for their use. Notwithstanding which the King persisted in his Resolution, and endeavoured, by sending divers Persons of Quality into the Town, to surprise it ; but that way not taking effect, he appeared in Person before it, demanding Entrance of Sir *John Hotham*, which he absolutely refused to permit, alledging, that he was entrusted with the Place by the Parliament for the Service of his Majesty and the Nation, and that he could not surrender it without their Order. The King finding that he could not prevail either by Promises or Threatnings, caused Sir *John Hotham* to be proclaimed a Traitor, and returned to *Tork* ; from whence he complained to the Parliament of the Affront he had received at *Hull* ; who, to manifest their Approbation of Sir *John Hotham's* Conduct, declared that he had done his Duty in denying the King admittance into the Town, asserting that the Command of the Militia was entrusted with the King to be employed for the Good of the Nation ; of which the two Houses of Parliament sitting are the proper Judges.

The Parliament began now to provide for the

the Security of all Places, and sent a Committee of four of their Members to invite the King to return to *Westminster*, and to endeavour to promote their Interest in the Northern Parts: and being informed that there was laid up in the Town of *Leicester* a considerable Quantity of Arms and Ammunition provided for the County; and that Mr. *Hastings*, then Sheriff, under Pretence of bringing with him a Guard to attend the Judges at the Assizes, resolved to secure the said Magazine for the King's Use; they made choice of Officers for three Companies of Foot, empowering them to raise the said Companies for the defence of the said Magazine. The Captains nominated to this Employment were one Major *Grey*, Dr. *Bastwick*, and one of my Brothers, who having been for some time in the Service of the States of *Holland*, was newly returned to *England*. These three having received their Commissions from the Parliament, went to *Leicester*, in order to raise their Companies; which they had not fully effected, when the King with all his Cavalry, consisting of about two thousand Horse, arrived at *Leicester*; against whom three Companies being no way sufficient to defend the Town, they resolved only to secure that Place where the Magazine lay: but that not being large enough to receive more than one Company, the three Captains cast Lots whose part it should be to defend it; which falling upon Major *Grey*, the other two dispersed their Men,
and

and set forwards for *London*, but had not rode many Miles when they were seized by a Party of Horse, which the King commanded the Sheriff to send after them, who brought them back to *Leicester*, from whence they were removed to *York*, where they were kept in the Common Goal, and very cruelly treated. These were the first Prisoners taken on either side. The Magazine by Capitulation was dispersed into several parts of the County, as properly belonging them.

The Parliament, that they might leave no means unattempted to perswade the King to return to them, sent down Propositions, directing their Commissioners at *York* to deliver them to him : And because much of the Intentions of the Parliament appear in the said Propositions, and for that they were in effect the principal Foundation of the ensuing War, I conceive it will not be amiss to recite them in this place, as they were agreed on by both Houses the Second of *June*, 1642. with the Title of *their humble Petition and Advice in Nineteen Propositions sent to the King*.

The

The most Humble and most Faithful Subjects of your Majesty, the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament,

“ **H**AVING nothing in their Thoughts and
 “ Desires more precious, and of higher
 “ Esteem, after the Honour and immediate
 “ Service of God, than the just and faithful
 “ discharge of their Duty towards Your Ma-
 “ jesty and this Kingdom; and being most
 “ sensible of the Destruction and Disorders,
 “ and of the imminent Dangers and Miseries
 “ which threaten your Majesty and Subjects,
 “ the which have proceeded from the subtle In-
 “ formations, malicious Practices, and wicked
 “ Counsels of Persons ill-affected to the true
 “ Religion of God, to the Peace and Honour
 “ of your Majesty, and to the Good of the
 “ Commonwealth; after a serious Considera-
 “ tion of the Causes of these Mischiefs, in all
 “ Humility and Sincerity they present to Your
 “ Majesty this Petition and Advice, full of
 “ Duty; to the end that by Your Royal Pru-
 “ dence, for the Establishment of your Ho-
 “ nour and Safety, and by a tender Sense of
 “ the Good and Safety of your Subjects, and
 “ your Estates, you may please to consent and
 “ agree unto these humble Desires and Proposi-
 “ tions, as the most necessary and most effectual
 “ means, by the Blessing of the Lord, to re-
 “ move

“ move the Jealousies and Differences that are
 “ unhappily begot between You and your Peo-
 “ ple, and to procure to You and them a con-
 “ stant Current of Honour, Peace and Happi-
 “ ness.

Proposition 1. “ That the Lords and all others
 “ of your Majesty’s Privy Council, and such
 “ other Chief Officers of State, as well with-
 “ in the Kingdom as on the other side of the
 “ Sea, be put out of all Offices and Employ-
 “ ments, except such as the two Houses of
 “ Parliament shall approve; and that those
 “ who shall be put into their Places shall be ap-
 “ proved by Parliament; and that those of the
 “ Council shall take an Oath for the due execu-
 “ tion of their Charge in such Form as the Par-
 “ liament shall agree.

“ 2. That the great Affairs of the Kingdom
 “ shall not be concluded nor passed by the Ad-
 “ vice of private Persons, nor by any Coun-
 “ sellors unknown, or that shall not have taken
 “ Oath; but that such Matters as concern
 “ the Publick, and are proper for the High
 “ Court of Parliament, that is your Majesty’s
 “ Great and Supreme Council, shall be debated,
 “ resolved, and passed in Parliament, and
 “ there only: and those who shall presume to
 “ do any thing to the contrary, shall be subject
 “ to the Censure and Judgment of the Parlia-
 “ ment: And other Matters of State that are
 “ proper for the Privy Council of your Ma-
 “ jesty, shall be debated and concluded by the
 “ Nobles,

“ Nobles, and others who shall be chosen for
 “ that end, from time to time, by the two
 “ Houses of Parliament ; and that every pub-
 “ lick Act that concerns the Affairs of the
 “ Kingdom, and shall be agreed by the Coun-
 “ cil, shall be esteemed of no force, and as
 “ not proceeding from the Royal Authority,
 “ if at least the greatest part of your Council
 “ have not consented thereunto, and signed
 “ the same ; and that your Council shall be
 “ brought to a certain Number that shall not
 “ exceed twenty five, nor be under fifteen ;
 “ and if it happen that any Counsellor’s Place
 “ becomes void during the Intervals of Parlia-
 “ ment, it shall be supplied by the Plurality
 “ of Voices of those of your Council, which
 “ shall be either confirmed or voided at the
 “ first Sessions of Parliament.

“ 3. That the Lord High Steward of *Eng-*
 “ *land*, the Great Constable, the Chancellor,
 “ the Keepers of the Seals, the Great Trea-
 “ surer, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, the
 “ Earl Marshal, the Admiral, the Governour
 “ of the Cinque-Ports, the Lieutenant of *Ire-*
 “ *land*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the
 “ Master of the Court of Wards, the Secreta-
 “ ries of State, the two Chief Justices, and
 “ the Chief Baron, shall be chosen with the
 “ Approbation of the two Houses of Par-
 “ liament, and in the Intervals of Parlia-
 “ ment by the *major* part of the Privy
 “ Council, with the Condition above men-

tioned in the Choice of the Counsellors of State,

“ 4. That the Governour of the Children of the King shall be chosen with the Approbation of Parliament; and in the Intervals of Parliament in the manner before-mentioned; and of the Servants that are already about them, the Parliament shall change such as they think fit.

“ 5. That the Children of the King shall not marry without the Advice of the Parliament; and those who shall be employed therein without their knowledg, shall be punished by the Parliament.

“ 6. That the Laws against Popish Recusants shall be put in effectual execution, and that those of them who are Prisoners, shall not be set at liberty without giving good Security.

“ 7. That Papists shall have no Vote in Councils, and that their Children shall be brought up in the Protestant Religion.

“ 8. That the Parliament shall reform the Liturgy and the Government of the Church, as they shall think fit, with the Advice of Divines: That your Majesty shall assist to put a stop to Innovations, to expel suspicious and scandalous Ministers, and for the countenancing of a godly and preaching Ministry throughout the Nation.

“ 9. That it will please your Majesty to content your self with the Order that the Parlia-

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" ment hath established in the Militia, until an
 " Act be agreed on for that purpose ; and that
 " your Majesty will recal the Declarations and
 " Proclamations against the Orders given there-
 " in by the Parliament.

" 10. That every Member of Parliament
 " that hath been put out of his Employment
 " or Office, shall be re-established, or Satis-
 " faction given him.

" 11. That the Privy Counsellors and Judges
 " shall take such Oath as shall be agreed on by
 " Parliament, for the doing of Justice, and
 " observing the Statutes that shall be agreed on
 " by this Parliament ; and that Report be made
 " every Session of Parliament, of the evil Ad-
 " ministration of Justice.

" 12. That all Officers shall enjoy their
 " Places so long, and no longer than they be-
 " have themselves well therein.

" 13. That all Persons shall be subject to
 " the Justice of the Parliament, even altho
 " they remove themselves beyond the Seas.

" 14. That the Amnesty accorded by your
 " Majesty shall have such Exceptions therein
 " as the Parliament shall think fit.

" 15. That the Fortresses of the Kingdom
 " shall have Governours of the Choice of your
 " Majesty, yet of the Approbation of the Par-
 " liament, and in the Intervals of Parliament
 " as is afore said.

" 16. That the extraordinary Guard that
 " your Majesty hath at present about you, may

“ be discharged, and that for the time to come
 “ you will raise no such extraordinary Guards,
 “ but according to Law, in case of actual Re-
 “ bellion or Invasion.

“ 17. That it will please your Majesty to
 “ confirm your Leagues with the United Pro-
 “ vinces, and other Princes of the Protestant
 “ Religion, that you may be the more capable
 “ to defend it against Popish Attempts; which
 “ will bring much Reputation to your Majesty,
 “ and encourage your Subjects to endeavour in
 “ a Parliamentary way to re-establish your Sis-
 “ ter and her Children, and other Princes, op-
 “ pressed for the same Cause.

“ 18. That it will please your Majesty to
 “ clear, by an Act of Parliament, the Lord
 “ *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of the
 “ House of Commons, so that future Parlia-
 “ ments may be secured against the Conse-
 “ quence of such ill Examples.

“ 19. That it will please your Majesty of
 “ your Grace to pass an Act, That the Peers
 “ created hereafter shall have no Place nor
 “ Voice in Parliament, at least unless they are
 “ admitted thereunto by the Parliament.

“ These humble Requests being granted un-
 “ to us by your Majesty, we shall endeavour,
 “ as we ought, to regulate the Revenue of your
 “ Majesty, and to increase it more and more,
 “ in such sort, that it shall support the Dignity
 “ Royal with Honour and Abundance, beyond
 “ whatever the Subjects of this Kingdom have
 “ allow-

“ allowed to their Kings your Majesty’s Pre-
 “ decessors. We will put also the Town of
 “ *Hull* into such Hands as your Majesty shall
 “ please, with the Approbation of the Parlia-
 “ ment, and will give a good Account of the
 “ Munitions of War, and of the Magazine.
 “ And to conclude, we shall chearfully do our
 “ Endeavours to give unto your Majesty Tes-
 “ timony of our Affection, Duty and Faith-
 “ fulness, to preserve and maintain your Royal
 “ Honour, the Greatness and Safety of your
 “ Majesty, and of your Posterity.

These Propositions were delivered to the
 King by the Commissioners of the Parliament,
 but without Success, he being resolved to steer
 another Course, presuming he might obtain as
 good Terms as these, if reduced to the last Ex-
 tremity; and that if his Arms succeeded ac-
 cording to his Hopes, his Will might pass for a
 Law, pursuant to the Opinion of those who
 thought no way so likely to render his Authority
 absolute, as the making of a War upon his
 People. And now the Fire began to break out
 in the West; Sir *John Stawell* and others draw-
 ing a Party together in *Somersetshire* for the
 King, where Captain *Preston* and others op-
 posed them; and about *Martials Elm* on *Polden-
 Hill*, some of those who declared for the Parlia-
 ment were killed. Whereupon the Parliament
 ordered some Horse to be raised, which they
 sent down under the Command of the Earl of

Bedford, to protect their Friends in those Parts. By which means the Enemy being forced to quit the Field, betook themselves to the Castle of *Sherburn* in *Dorsetshire*, which after a short Siege was surrendred to the Parliament. *Portsmouth* was also secured for the Parliament by the young Lord *Goring*, then Governour thereof; but he afterwards declaring for the King, it was besieged and reduced by their Forces, and the Government of it entrusted to Sir *William Lewis*.

The King having set up his Standard at *Nottingham* the 24th of *August*, 1642. the Parliament thought themselves obliged to make some Preparations to defend themselves, having discovered that he had sent abroad to procure what Assistance he could against his People, particularly applying himself to the King of *Denmark*, acquainting him, that the two Houses, to make their Work sure against him, were endeavouring to prove Queen *Ann* a Whore, and thereby illegitimate all her Issue; earnestly pressing him in vindication of his injured Sister, as well as in consideration of his own relation to him, to send him Succours. This Letter was intercepted and brought to the Parliament, who by a Declaration protested that no such thing had ever entred into their Thoughts. The King also endeavoured, under pretence of Law, to take away the Lives of Dr. *Bastwick* and Captain *Robert Ludlow*, for acting in obedience to the Commands of the Parliament; and

and had proceeded to their Execution, had not the Parliament by a Message sent to Judge *Heath*, and delivered to him on the Bench, threatned a Retaliation; by executing two for one in case they went on, which put a stop to that Design.

The Parliament having passed the following Votes,

1. That the King seduced by evil Counsel, intends to levy War against the Parliament ;
2. That when the King doth levy War, against the Parliament, he breaks his Trust, and doth that which tends to the Dissolution of the Parliament ;
3. That whosoever shall assist him in such a War, are Traitors, and shall be proceeded against accordingly ;

prepared for the raising of an Army, and published several Declarations, inviting the good People of *England* to assist them with their Prayers, Persons and Purfes, to carry on this War, which they were necessitated to enter into for the Defence of the Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Parliament of *England*. The Protestation taken by both Houses, and by them proposed to the People, to stand by each other in their just and necessary Undertaking, was readily and chearfully taken by them in *London* and elsewhere; and divers hundreds on Horseback from the Countries of *Buckingham*,

Hartford and *Essex*, came up with their several Petitions, acknowledging the Care and Faithfulness of the Parliament in the discharge of their Trust, and promising to stand by them in the carrying on of what they had declared for.

Declarations were also set forth by the two Houses, encouraging the People to provide Horses and Arms, and to bring in Plate and Money for their necessary Defence, engaging the Credit of the Publick for the Reimbursement of what should be so advanced. Which Contributions arising to the Value of a great Sum, they declared their Intentions of raising a certain Number of Horse and Foot, with a proportionable Train of Artillery, and voted the Earl of *Essex* to be their General; whom the King (to take him off from the Publick Interest) had lately made Chamberlain of his Household. Upon the same account he had also preferred the Lord *Say* to be Master of the Court of Wards, and Mr. *Oliver St. Johns* to be his Solicitor General. But this could not corrupt the Earl of *Essex*, nor hinder him from discharging vigorously that Trust which the Parliament had reposed in him. Divers of the Lords and Commons engaged their Lives with him, and under him: Of the Lords, the Earl of *Bedford*, who was General of the Horse, the Lord *Peterborough*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, the Lord *Denbigh*, the Lord *St. John*, the Lord *Rochford*; and of the Commons, Mr. *Hampden* and Mr. *Hollis*, who raised Re-
giments;

giments; Sir *Philip Stapylton*, who commanded the Earl of *Essex's* Guard, and Mr. *Oliver Cromwell*, who commanded a Troop of Horse, and divers others. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was High Admiral, staid with the Parliament. The Earl of *Warwick*, whom they made Vice-Admiral, kept the greatest part of the Fleet in obedience to them.

Things being brought to this Extremity, the Nation was driven to a necessity of Arming in defence of the Laws, openly and frequently violated by the King; who had made it the chief business of his Reign to invade the Rights and Privileges of the People, raising Taxes by various Arts without their Consent in Parliament; encouraging and preferring a formal and superstitious Clergy, discouraging the sober and vertuous amongst them; imposing upon all the Inventions of Men in the room of the Institutions of God: And knowing that Parliaments were the most likely means to rectify what was amiss, to give a check to his Ambition, and to punish the Principal Instruments of that illegal Power which he had assumed, had endeavoured either to prevent their Meeting, or to render them fruitless to the People, and only serviceable to his corrupt ends, by granting him Money to carry on his pernicious Designs: A Parliament being now called, and an Act passed, authorising them to sit till they should think fit to dissolve themselves: And it being manifest to them, and to all those who had

had any Concern for the Happiness of the Nation, that the King would do nothing effectually to redress the present, or to secure the People from future Mischiefs; chusing rather to contend with them by Arms, than for their satisfaction to entrust the Militia in faithful Hands; resolving to impose that by the Force of his Arms which he could not do by the Strength of his Arguments: I thought it my Duty, upon consideration of my Age and vigorous Constitution, as an English-man, and an Invitation to that purpose from my Father, to enter into the Service of my Country, in the Army commanded by the Earl of *Essex* under the Authority of the Parliament. I thought the Justice of that Cause I had engaged in to be so evident, that I could not imagin it to be attended with much Difficulty. For tho' I supposed that many of the Clergy, who had been the principal Authors of our Miseries, together with some of the Courtiers, and such as absolutely depended upon the King for their Subsistence, as also some Foreigners, would adhere to him; yet I could not think that many of the People, who had been long oppressed with heavy Burdens, and now with great difficulty had obtain'd a Parliament, composed of such Persons as were willing to run all Hazards to procure a lasting Settlement for the Nation, would be either such Enemies to themselves, or so ungrateful to those they had trusted, as not to stand by them to the utmost of their Power: At least
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(tho some might not have so much Resolution and Courage as to venture *All* with them, yet) that they would not be so treacherous and unworthy, to strengthen the Hands of the Enemy against those who had the Laws of God, Nature and Reason, as well as those of the Land on their side. Soon after my Engagement in this Cause, I met with Mr. *Richard Fynes*, Son to the Lord *Say*, and Mr. *Charles Fleetwood*, Son to Sir *Miles Fleetwood*, then a Member of the House of Commons; with whom consulting, it was resolv'd by us to assemble as many young Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, of which we then were, and others, as should be found disposed to this Service, in order to be instructed together in the use of Arms, to render our selves fit and capable of acting in case there should be occasion to make use of us. To this end we procured a Person experienced in military Affairs to instruct us in the use of Arms; and for some time we frequently met to exercise at the *Artillery-Ground* in *London*. And being informed that the Parliament had resolved to raise a Life-Gaurd for the Earl of *Essex*, to consist of a hundred Gentlemen, under the Command of Sir *Philip Stapylton*, a Member of Parliament, most of our Company entred themselves therein, and made up the greatest part of the said Guard; amongst whom were Mr. *Richard Fynes*, Mr. *Charles Fleetwood*, afterwards Lieutenant General, Major General *Harrison*, Colonel *Nathanael Rich*, Colo-

Colonel *Thomlinson*, Colonel *Twistleton*, Colonel *Boswell*, Major *Whitby* and my Self, with divers others. It was not long before the Army under the Command of the Earl of *Essex* was raised, and ready to march; so cheerfully did the People, hoping that the time of their Deliverance was come, offer their Persons and all that was necessary for the carrying on of that Work. The appearance for the King was not very considerable whilst he continued at *York*; but when he removed to *Shrewsbury*, great Numbers out of *Wales* and the adjacent Parts resorted to him. The Earl of *Essex* having notice that the King directed his March that way, advanced with his Army towards *Worcester*; and upon his approach to that Town received Advice, that a Detachment commanded by Prince *Rupert* had possessed themselves of it for the King; and that a Party of ours impatient of Delay, had engaged the Enemy before our General could come up, with great Disadvantage, as I afterwards observed upon view of the Place. Ours consisted of about a thousand Horse and Dragoons, the Enemy being more in number, and drawn up in a body, within Musquet-shot of a Bridg between *Parshot* and *Worcester*, over which our Men resolved to march and attack them; but before half their number was got over, not being able to advance above eight or ten abreast by reason of a narrow Lane through which they were to pass, till they came within Pistol-shot of the
 Enemy,

Enemy, they were engaged, and forced to retreat in Disorder, tho they did as much as could well be expected from them upon so disadvantageous a Ground. Some were killed upon the place ; amongst whom was Major *Gunter*, a very gallant Man, who, as I have heard, had endeavoured to dissuade them from that Attempt ; others were drowned, and divers taken Prisoners ; of the last was Colonel *Sands*, who commanded the Party, and was carried to *Worcester*, where, being mortally wounded, he soon died, with all possible Expressions of his hearty Affection to the Publick Cause. The Body of our routed Party returned in great Disorder to *Parshot*, at which place our Life-Guard was appointed to quarter that Night ; where, as we were marching into the Town, we discovered Horsemen riding very hard towards us with drawn Swords, and many of them without Hats, from whom we understood the Particulars of our Loss, not without Improvement, by reason of the Fear with which they were possessed, telling us, that the Enemy was hard by in pursuit of them : whereas it afterwards appeared, they came not within four Miles of that place. Our Life-Guard being for the most part Strangers to things of this nature, were much alarm'd with this Report ; yet some of us unwilling to give credit to it till we were better informed, offered our selves to go out upon a further Discovery of the matter. But our Captain Sir *Philip Stapyl-*

ton not being then with us, his Lieutenant one *Bainham*, an old Souldier (a Generation of Men much cried up at that time) drawing us into a Field, where he pretended we might more advantageously charge if there should be occasion, commanded us to wheel about; but our Gentlemen not yet well understanding the difference between *wheeling about*, and *shifting for themselves*, their Backs being now towards the Enemy, whom they thought to be close in the Rear, retired to the Army in a very dishonourable manner, and the next Morning rallied at the Head-quarters, where we received but cold Welcome from the General, as we well deserved. The Night following the Enemy left *Worcester*, and retreated to *Shrewsbury*, where the King was; upon which the Earl of *Essex* advanced to *Worcester*, where he continued with the Army for some time, expecting an Answer to a Message sent by him to the King from the Parliament, inviting him to return to *London*. This Time the King improved to compleat and arm his Men; which when he had effected, he began his March, the Earl of *Essex* attending him to observe his Motions: and after a day or two, on Sunday Morning, the 23^d of *October*, 1642. our Scouts brought advice that the Enemy appeared, and about nine a Clock some of their Troops were discovered upon *Edge-hill* in *Warwickshire*. Upon this our Forces who had been order'd that Morning to their Quarters to refresh themselves, having had but

little

little Rest for eight and forty Hours, were immediately countermanded. The Enemy drew down the Hill, and we into the Field near *Keinton*. The best of our Field-pieces were planted upon our right Wing, guarded by two Regiments of Foot, and some Horse. Our General having commanded to fire upon the Enemy, it was done twice upon that part of the Army, wherein, as it was reported, the King was. The great Shot was exchanged on both sides for the space of an Hour or thereabouts. By this time the Foot began to engage, and a Party of the Enemy being sent to line some Hedges on our right Wing, thereby to beat us from our Ground, were repulsed by our Dragoons without any Loss on our side. The Enemy's Body of Foot, wherein the King's Standard was, came on within Musquet-shot of us; upon which we observing no Horse to encounter withal, charged them with some Loss from their Pikes, tho' very little from their Shot; but not being able to break them, we retreated to our former Station, whither we were no sooner come, but we perceived that those who were appointed to guard the Artillery were marched off: And Sir *Philip Stapylton* our Captain wishing for a Regiment of Foot to secure the Cannon, we promised to stand by him in defence of them, causing one of our Servants to load and level one of them, which he had scarce done, when a Body of Horse appeared advancing towards us from that side where the
 Enemy

Enemy was. We fired at them with Case-shot, but did no other Mischief save only wounding one Man through the Hand, our Gun being overloaded, and planted on high Ground; which fell out very happily, this Body of Horse being of our own Army, and commanded by Sir *William Balfour*, who with great Resolution had charged into the Enemy's Quarters, where he had nailed several pieces of their Cannon, and was then retreating to his own Party, of which the Man who was shot in the Hand was giving us notice by holding it up; but we did not discern it. The Earl of *Essex* order'd two Regiments of Foot to attack that Body which we had charged before, where the King's Standard was, which they did, but could not break them till Sir *William Balfour* at the head of a Party of Horse charging them in the Rear, and we marching down to take them in Flank, they brake and ran away towards the Hill. Many of them were killed upon the place, amongst whom was Sir *Edward Varney* the King's Standard-bearer, who, as I have heard from a Person of Honour, engaged on that side, not out of any good Opinion of the Cause, but from the Sense of a Duty which he thought lay upon him, in respect of his Relation to the King. Mr. *Herbert of Glamorgan-shire*, Lieutenant Colonel to Sir *Edward Stradling's* Regiment, was also killed, with many others that fell in the Pursuit. Many Colours were taken, and I saw Lieutenant Colonel *Midleton*,

deleton, them a Reformade in our Army, displaying the King's Standard which he had taken :. but a Party of Horse coming upon us, we were obliged to retire with our Standard ; and having brought it to the Earl of *Essex*, he delivered it to the Custody of one Mr. *Chambers* his Secretary, from whom it was taken by one Captain *Smith*, who, with two more, disguising themselves with Orange-coulour'd Scarfs, (the Earl of *Essex*'s Colour) and pretending it unfit that a Penman should have the Honour to carry the Standard, took it from him, and rode with it to the King, for which Action he was knighted. Retreating towards our Army, I fell in with a body of the King's Foot, as I soon perceived; but having passed by them undiscovered, I met with Sir *William Balfour*'s Troop, some of whom who knew me not would have fired upon me, supposing me to be an Enemy, had they not been prevented, and assured of the contrary by Mr. *Francis Russel*, who with ten Men well mounted and armed, which he maintained, rode in the Life-Guard, and in the heat of the pursuit had lost sight of them, as I my self had also done.

I now perceived no other Engagement on either side, only a few great Guns continued to fire upon us from the Enemy : but towards the close of the Day we discovered a body of Horse marching from our Rear on the left of us under the Hedges, which the Life-Guard (whom I had then found) having discovered to be the

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Enemy, and resolving to charg them, sent to some of our Troops that stood within Musquet-shot of us to second them; which tho they refused to do, and we had no way to come at them but through a Gap in the Hedg, we advanced towards them, and falling upon their Rear, killed divers of them, and brought off some Arms. In which Attempt being dismounted, I could not without great difficulty recover on Horse-back again, being loaded with Cuirassiers Arms, as the rest of the Guard also were. This was the Right Wing of the King's Horse commanded by Prince *Rupert*, who taking advantage of the Disorder that our own Horse had put our Foot into, who had opened their Ranks to secure them in their Retreat, pressed upon them with such Fury, that he put them to flight. And if the time which he spent in pursuing them too far, and in plundering the Wagons, had been employed in taking such Advantages as offered themselves in the place where the Fight was, it might have proved more serviceable to the carrying on of the Enemy's Designs. The Night after the Battle our Army quartered upon the same Ground that the Enemy fought on the day before. No Man nor Horse got any Meat that Night, and I had touched none since the Saturday before, neither could I find my Servant who had my Cloak, so that having nothing to keep me warm but a Sute of Iron, I was obliged to walk about all Night, which proved very cold by reason of a sharp Frost.

Towards Morning our Army having received a Reinforcement of Colonel *Hampden's* and several other Regiments, to the number of about four thousand Men, who had not been able to joyn us sooner, was drawn up; and about Day-light we saw the Enemy upon the top of the Hill: so that we had time to bury our Dead, and theirs too if we thought fit. That Day was spent in sending Trumpeters to enquire whether such as were missing on both sides were killed, or Prisoners. Those of ours taken by the Enemy were the Lord *St. Johns*, who was mortally wounded, and declared at his Death a full Satisfaction and Cheerfulness to lay down his Life in so good a Cause; Colonel *Walton* a Member of Parliament, and Captain *Austin* an eminent Merchant in *London*; of whom the last died through the hard Usage he received in the Goal at *Oxford*, to which he was committed. It was observed that the greatest Slaughter on our side was of such as ran away, and on the Enemy's side of those that stood; of whom I saw about threescore lie within the compass of threescore Yards upon the Ground whereon that Brigade fought in which the King's Standard was. We took Prisoners the Earl of *Lindsey*, General of the King's Army, who died of his Wounds; Sir *Edward Stradling*, and Colonel *Lunsford*, who were sent to *Warwick-Castle*. That Night the Country brought in some Provisions; but when I got Meat I could scarce eat it, my Jaws

for want of use having almost lost their natural Faculty.

Our Army was now refreshed, and Masters of the Field ; and having received such a considerable Addition of Strength as I mentioned before, we hoped that we should have pursued the Enemy, who were marching off as fast as they could, leaving only some Troops to face us upon the top of the Hill : but instead of that, for what reason I know not, we marched to *Warwick* ; of which the Enemy having notice, sent out a Party of Horse under Prince *Rupert*, who on Tuesday Night fell into the Town of *Keinton*, where our sick and wounded Souldiers lay, and after they had cruelly murdered many of them, returned to their Army. The King, as if Master of the Field, marched to *Banbury*, and summoned it ; and tho about a thousand of our Men were in the Town, yet pretending it not to be sufficiently provided for a Siege, they surrendred it to him. From thence the King went to *Oxford*, and our Army after some Refreshment at *Warwick* returned to *London*, not like Men that had obtained a Victory, but as if they had been beaten. The Parliament ordered them to be recruited ; and about the same time sent to the King, who was advanced with part of his Army to *Maidenhead*, or thereabouts, to assure him of their earnest Desire to prevent the effusion of more Blood, and to procure a right Understanding between his Majesty and Them. The King in

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his Answer, which was brought by Sir *Peter Killigrew*, professed to desire nothing more, and that he would leave no means unattempted for the effecting thereof. Upon which Answer the Parliament thought themselves secure, at least against any sudden Attempt : But the very next day the King taking the advantage of a very thick Mist, marched his Army within half a Mile of *Brentford* before he was discovered, designing to surprize our Train of Artillery, (which was then at *Hammer-smith*) the Parliament and City ; which he had certainly done, if two Regiments of Foot and a small Party of Horse that lay at *Brentford* had not with unspeakable Courage opposed his Passage, and stop't the March of his Army most part of the Afternoon : During which time the Army that lay quarter'd in and about *London* drew together ; which some of them, and particularly the Life-Guard, had opportunity the sooner to do, being at that very time drawn into *Chelsey*-Fields to muster, where they heard the Volleys of Shot that pass'd between the Enemy and our little Party ; the Dispute continued for some Hours, till our Men were encompassed quite round with Horse and Foot ; and then being overpower'd with Numbers on every side, many brave and gallant Men having lost their Lives upon the Place, the rest chusing rather to commit themselves to the Mercy of the Water, than to those who were engaged in so treacherous a Design, leap'd into

the River, where many Officers and private Souldiers were drowned, and some taken Prisoners. However the Enemies Design was by this means defeated, and they discouraged from any farther Attempt that Night. The Parliament also were alarm'd in such a manner with the Danger and Treachery of this Enterprize, that they used all possible Diligence to bring their Forces together, so that by eight of the Clock the next Morning we had a Body of twenty thousand Horse and Foot drawn up upon *Turnham-green*, a Mile on this side *Brentford*: Those of ours also that lay at *Kingston* were marching to us by the way of *London*. The Enemy drew out a Party of theirs towards the Hill at *Acton*, which we attacked, and forced to retire in Disorder to their main Body. And here again, in the opinion of many judicious Persons, we lost, as at *Edge-hill* before, a favourable opportunity of engaging the Enemy with great Advantage, our Numbers exceeding theirs, and their Reputation being utterly lost in the last Attempt. But the Earl of *Holland* and others, pretending to encourage our Army by their Presence, made use of their time to dissuade the Earl of *Essex* from fighting till the rest of our Forces arrived; magnifying the Power of the Enemy to him, and thereby giving them an opportunity to draw off their Forces and Artillery towards *Kingston*, which they did as fast as they could, leaving only a body of Horse to face us between the two

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Brentfords, the rest having secured themselves by a timely Retreat: Upon this Party some of our great Guns, guarded by a Regiment of Foot, were, towards the Evening, ordered to be fired. The like Guard was drawn up in the High-ways to secure our Foot from any Attempt of Horse that might be made upon them; which some Great Men, who pretended a Resolution to fight in that Troop, blamed, charging the Advisers thereof with Rashness, in hazarding them in such a Pound, where they must inevitably be cut off, if the Enemy should advance upon them. But I fear this great care was only counterfeit, and that those Persons well knew the Enemy to be in a flying, and not in a charging Condition, as it quickly appeared; for our Cannon no sooner began to play upon them, but they retired to the main Body of their Army, the Rear of which had by that time recovered *Hounslow-heath*. The Enemy took up their Head-quarters at *Kingston*, where, by the advantage of the Bridge over the *Thames*, they hoped to be able, tho inferior in Number, to defend themselves against a more numerous Army, if they should be attacked, and to put in execution any Design they might have upon the City or Places adjacent. To prevent which, our General caused a Bridge of Boats to be laid over the River between *Putney* and *Battersey*, which was no sooner finished but the Enemy retired to *Oxford* by the way of *Reading*, which Place they fortified, and placed a

Garison therein, a Party of ours having quit-
 ted it upon their Approach. Garisons were al-
 so placed by them in the Towns of *Newcastle*
 upon *Tyne*, *Chester*, *Worcester*, and several others,
 as they had done before in *York* and *Shrewsbury*.
 Some of ours likewise had possessed themselves
 of *Glocester*, *Bristol*, *Exeter*, *Southampton*, *Do-*
ver, and divers other places. The Enemy be-
 ing retired, our Army advanced to *Windsor*,
 and made it our Head-quarters for the most part
 of that Winter: and so desirous was the Par-
 liament to prevent any further Effusion of
 Blood, that notwithstanding the treacherous
 Design of the late Expedition, they again sent
 Propositions of Peace to the King at *Oxford*,
 being the same in effect with those delivered to
 him before at *York*; but they found no better
 Reception than the others had done. I do not
 remember any thing remarkable perform'd by
 either Party this Winter, save only an Attempt
 of the Enemy upon one of our Quarters at
Henly, where two Regiments of Foot; one of
 which was Major General *Skipton's*, then were,
 who being tired with a long March, and dis-
 persed to their respective Quarters, were fallen
 upon by a great body of the Enemy that had
 advanced to the Town's end undiscovered;
 but a small Party of our Men getting together,
 one of our Gunners hastened to the Artillery
 which was planted upon the Avenue, fired once
 or twice upon them, and made so great a
 Slaughter, especially of those Officers who were
 at

at the head of their Party, that they retreated in great Disorder without any farther Attempt.

Our General having notice that the Enemy had a Design upon *Bristol*, sent a Party commanded by Colonel *Nathanael Fines* to reinforce that Garrison; by which means it was prevented, and some of their Correspondents in the Town thereupon executed.

About this time Sir *Edward Hungerford* having obtained the Command of the Forces in the County of *Wilts* for the Parliament, invited me to raise a Troop of Horse in his Regiment: in order to which I attended him at the *Devizes*, and from thence went with him to *Salisbury*, where he seized some quantity of Horse and Arms from Persons disaffected, and with them mounted and armed part of his Men. And I having done what was convenient at that time for the raising of my Troop, returned to the Head-quarters at *Windsor*, where I gave them an account of the good Condition of Colonel *Fines* and Sir *Edward Hungerford*, at which they were not a little surprized, having been made to believe that they and their Troops were routed and cut in pieces by the Enemy. Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, and others, were very active in raising Forces for the King in *Cornwall*, and the remote parts of *Devonshire*, and had possessed themselves of *Pendennis*, *Dartmouth*, and *Barnstaple*, as Colonel *Ashburnham* and others had done of *Weymouth* in *Dorsetshire*. And the Parliament had ordered

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Garisons to be put into *Plymouth, Lyme, and Pool*. In the Spring our Army was Master of the Field, the King making it his business to be only upon the defensive till the Queen should arrive in *England* with an Army to his Assistance, hoping to exhaust the Treasure of the *City of London* by Delays, and thereby to cause them to abate their Zeal for the Publick, omitting no opportunity by his Emisaries to create and foment Differences amongst them, endeavouring by all means to procure an Insurrection for him, to compel the Parliament to submit to such terms as he pleased to impose. The Earl of *Essex* marched with the Army to besiege *Reading*, a Frontier Town of the King's, which he had strongly fortify'd and garison'd. The General himself sat down on the North-west side, and the Lord *Grey* of *Wark* on the South-east side of the Town: the great Shot did some Damage to the Houses; from one of which a Tile falling upon the Head of Sir *Arthur Ashton*, a Papist, and Governour thereof disabled him from executing that Charge during the rest of the Siege, and Colonel *Fielding* was made Governour in his room. The King thinking this place to be of great Importance to him, brought together all the Forces he could; and marching on *Causam*-side in order to relieve it, was opposed by a small Party of ours, who taking the advantage of some Ditches and Pales to shelter themselves, repulsed his Men, and forced him to retreat to *Oxford*.

Oxford. Upon this the Town was surrendred upon Articles to the Earl of *Essex*, Colonel *Fielding* the Governour retiring to *Oxford*, where he was tried, and condemned to die, but not executed.

At my coming into *Wilts* with three more of the Life-Guard, two whereof were to be Officers in my Troop, and the third in another Troop of the same Regiment, I found Sir *Edward Hungerford* with the Forces of *Wilts*, and Colonel *Stroud* with part of those of *Somersetshire*, besieging *Warder-Castle*, before which they had been about a week, battering it with two small Pieces, whereby they had done little other hurt save only to a Chimney-piece, by a Shot entring at a Window: But there being a Vault on each side of the Castle, for the conveying away of Filth, two or three Barrels of Powder were put into one of them, and being fired, blew up some part of it; which with the grazing of a Bullet upon the Face of one of the Servants, and the threatning of the Besiegers to spring the other Mine, and then to storm it, if it was not surrendred before an Hour-glass, which they had turn'd up, was run out, so terrified the Ladies therein, whereof there was a great Number, that they agreed to surrender it. The Government of this Castle was entrusted to my care by Sir *Edward Hungerford*, who left me with a Company of Foot commanded by Captain *Bean*, and my own Troop to defend it. The Earl of *Marlborough* with

with some Horse possessed himself of a House in our Neighbourhood called *Fount-hill*, with a Design to block us up; but Sir *Edward* sent a party of Horse who fell upon him there, and obliged him to quit it. I levelled the Works that had been raised during the Siege, sunk a Well, broke down the Vaults about the Castle, and furnished it with Provisions, expecting to be besieged, as I was soon after. For within a Fortnight after I was possessed of it, the Lord *Arundel*, to whom it belonged, and whose Father died soon after he had received News that it was taken, supposing to find me unprovided, came with a Party of Horse, and summoned me to deliver the Place for his Majesty's Use. Some who were with me advised me so to do; yet I return'd the Enemy answer, That I was entrusted to keep the Castle for the Service of the Parliament, and could not surrender it without their Command. The Enemy not being at that time ready to make any Attempt upon us, retreated to their main Body; of which tho the Marquiss of *Hertford* carried the name of General, that thereby the Country might be encouraged to come in, yet Prince *Maurice*, as he had then the principal Influence over them, so he was soon after placed in the head of them, as more likely to promote that Arbitrary and boundless Prerogative which the King endeavoured to set up over the People.

Having notice that some of the King's Forces were at *Salisbury*, I went out with six of my Troop

Troop to procure Intelligence, and to do what Service I could upon the Enemies Straglers: When I came to *Sutton*, I was informed that six of them were gone up the Town just before. Whereupon we made after them, and by their Horses, which we saw tied in a Yard, supposed them to be in the House to which it belonged: upon which I went in, and was no sooner within the door but two of them shut it upon me; but my Party rushing in, they ran out at another, and escaped; a third mounted one of my Mens Horses, and rid away; the other three who were in a Room of the House, upon promise of quarter for Life, surrendered themselves, with whom and six Horses we returned to the Castle.

Our Army after they had possessed themselves of *Reading*, did nothing remarkable that Summer, only there hapned some Skirmishes, in one of which that most eminent Patriot Col. *Hampden* lost his Life by a Shot in the Shoulder. Sir *William Waller* commanded a Party in the West, with which he did considerable Service, tho it was so small that he marched for the most part in the Night to conceal his Weakness. He reduced *Higham-house*, a place of Strength, garrisoned by the Enemy, and protected the Gentlemen of the Country whilst they were raising Forces for the Parliament. And being joyned by Sir *Arthur Haslerig's* Regiment of Horse, and the Forces of *Wilts*, *Somerset* and *Dorset*, with as many as could be spared from *Bristol*;
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he was become so considerable, as to put a stop to the March of the King's Western Army; which coming to the Town where my Father's House was, wholly ruined it, and destroyed his Park. But upon their Removal from thence, conceiving I might take some Straglers, or some way or other annoy the Enemy, I went thither the Night after with about forty Horse, where tho I could hear of no Men, yet I found much Provision, which a Gentlewoman had oblig'd the People of the Town to bring together, and which she was preparing to send to the King's Army, with Horses and Carts ready to carry it; amongst which there was half a dozen Pasties of my Father's Venison ready baked, which, with as much of the other Provisions as we could, we carried away with us. The two Armies before-mentioned engaged about *Lansdown*, where the success was doubtful a good while, but at last ours obtain'd the Victory. The Cornish-men commanded by Sir *Bevil Greenvil* stood their Ground till they came to push of Pike, but were then routed, and Sir *Bevil* killed. The Enemy retreated to the *Devizes*, and ours pursued them. The News of this Action being brought to us, I marched out with my Horse towards *Warminster*; and in the way searching the Houses of some Persons disaffected to the Publick, we found two of our most active Enemies, whom we carried away Prisoners. But the great Hopes we had conceived of enjoying some Qui-
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et in the West by the means of this Victory were soon blasted; for a body of Horse sent from *Oxford* not being attended by any from our Army, (tho as I have heard commanded so to do) engaged our Horse on *Roundway-hill*, where the Over-forwardness of some of our Party to charge the Enemy upon disadvantageous Ground was the principal Cause of their Defeat. The Horse being routed; our Foot also quitted their Ground, and shifted for themselves; many of whom were taken, and many killed, the rest retreated to *Bristol*, where they made the best Preparation they could to defend themselves, expecting suddenly to be besieged, as it fell out. Sir *William Waller* with what Horse he had left marched to *London*, where no means were omitted to recruit them. *Exeter* was surrendred to the Enemy upon terms, and *Bristol* besieged, which being stormed on one side, and ours not doing their Duty, part of the Enemy being entred, the Governour desired to capitulate, and delivered up the Town upon Articles, which were not well kept; in retaliation, as they pretended, for the like breach by ours at the taking of *Reading*. The Governour of *Bristol* was hereupon tried and condemned by a Court Martial, how justly I know not; but the Parliament ordered the execution of the Sentence to be suspended. About this time a Gentleman of the Country, related to the Lord *Cottington*, desired a Conference with me, wherein he endeavoured to perswade me to
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surrender the Castle of *Warder*, promising me any Terms I would desire, and assuring me that several of the Western Gentlemen finding our Affairs desperate, had made their Peace with the King, and that the Kentish Men who were risen for him would be sufficient to accomplish his Work, tho he had no other Army. Also Colonel *Robert Philips*, my Friend and Kinsman, coming before the Castle some time after with a Party of Horse, and desiring to speak with me, was earnest with me to the same effect: my Answers to both were, that I had resolved to run all Hazards in the discharge of that Trust which I had undertaken.

The two Houses of Parliament, notwithstanding the many Difficulties they met with at home, having sent over Forces to subdue the Rebels in *Ireland*, thought it also their Duty to send Recruits thither, and at the same time presented the Earl of *Ormond* with a Jewel, as a Testimony of their acceptance of his Service at the Battle of *Rosse*, where there was above forty of his own Name and Kindred killed upon the place, and the Enemy totally routed, tho for a long time they had much the better of the day.

The Earl of *Leicester* having been voted Lieutenant of *Ireland* by the Parliament, and approved by the King, wanted nothing but his Commission to begin his Journey for that Kingdom, which after several Delays he received from the King; but being at *Chester* in order to
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take Shipping, the Carriages and Draught-Horses which lay there for that Service, as also the Clothes and other Provisions designed by the Parliament for the Souldiers in *Ireland*, were seized by the King's Order, and made use of for his Service here; whilst his Agents there endeavoured to perswade the English Souldiers in that Country, that they were neglected by the Parliament: Upon which false Suggestion he prevailed with them to serve him in *England* against the Parliament; and, contrary to his Engagement to both Houses not to treat with the Rebels without their Concurrence, made a Cessation with them, and brought over many of them to serve in his Army against the Parliament: who being encompassed with Difficulties on all hands, and understanding that the Queen was landing with a considerable Strength at *Bridlington-Bay* in the County of *York*, sent Commissioners to treat with their Friends in *Scotland* to march into *England* to their Assistance.

In the mean time the King's Army besieged the City of *Glocester*, the King being there in Person to countenance the Siege. The Besieged made a vigorous Defence for about a Month, during which the Parliament took care to recruit their Army in order to relieve them. Their Rendezvouz was appointed on *Hounslow-heath*, whither some Members of Parliament (of which my Father was one) were sent, to inspect their Condition, that their Wants being known,

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might be the better supplied ; who found them a very shatter'd and broken Body : but the City being then very affectionate to the Publick ; soon recruited them, and drew forth so many of their Trained Bands and Auxiliary Regiments, as made them up a gallant Army. In their March towards *Glocester* some of ours fell upon a Party of the Enemy at *Cirencester*, of whom they took many Prisoners ; and seized a great quantity of Provisions which they found prepared for the Enemy, who upon our Approach raised the Siege. The Earl of *Essex* having relieved the Town, was marching back again, when he perceived the Enemy endeavouring to get between him and *London* ; and to that end falling upon his Rear with a strong Party of Horse, they so disordered his Men, and retarded the March of his Army, that he found himself obliged to engage them at *Newbury*. The Dispute was very hot on both sides, and the Enemy had the better at the first ; but our Men resolving to carry on their point, and the City-Regiments behaving themselves with great Bravery, gave them before Night so little cause to boast, that the next Morning they were willing to permit the Earl of *Essex* to march to *London* without interruption. Few Prisoners were taken on either side : The Enemy had several Persons of Quality killed ; the principal of whom were the Earl of *Carnarvan*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Lord *Falkland*, and a French Marquis. We lost a Colonel of one

of the City-Regiments, together with some inferior Officers.

Some of the Lords and Commons, contrary to their Duty, withdrew themselves from the Parliament at *Westminster*, and went to the King at *Oxford*, where they met together, but never did any thing considerable for the King's Service, and shewed themselves so little willing to assume the name of a Parliament, that the King in a Letter to the Queen (a Copy whereof was afterwards found amongst his Papers) called them his *Mongrel Parliament*.

In the mean time the Earl of *Manchester* received a Commission from the Parliament to raise Forces in the associated Counties of *Sussex, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridg, Huntingdon, &c.* which was very necessary: for the King was Master of all Places of Strength from *Berwick* to *Boston*, except *Hull* and two small Castles in *Lincolnshire*; and *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax* not able to keep the Field against the Earl of *Newcastle*, was retired with his Horse and Foot to *Hull*: the Enemies Strength in the North no way inferior to what it was in the West, and none considerable enough to oppose their March into the South.

The Earl of *Newcastle*, upon advice that the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* had possessed himself of the Town of *Gainsborough* for the Parliament, sent his Brother Col. *Cavindish*, Lieutenant General of his Army, with a great Party of Horse and Dragoons to summon it, him-

self marching after with the Foot. Col. *Oliver Cromwell* having notice thereof, and understanding by fresh Experience that Victory is not always obtained by the greater Number, having lately defeated near *Grantham* twenty four Troops of the Enemies Horse and Dragoons, with seven Troops only which he had with him, resolved to endeavour the Relief of *Gainsborough*; and with twelve Troops of Horse and Dragoons marched thither, where he found the Enemy, who were drawn up near the Town, to be more than thrice his Number, and no way to attack them but through a Gate, and up-hill; notwithstanding which Disadvantages he adventured to fall upon them, and after some Dispute totally routed them, killing many of their Officers, and amongst them Lieutenant General *Cavendish*. Thus was *Gainsborough* relieved; but the Conquerors had little time to rejoyce, for within two or three hours the routed Enemy rallying, and joining with the rest of *Newcastle's* Army, marched against them: Upon which they retreated to *Lincoln* that night in good order, and without any Loss, facing the Enemy with three Troops at a time as they drew off the rest. *Lincoln* not being defensible, Col. *Cromwell* marched the next day to *Boston*, that he might join the Earl of *Manchester*, who with his new-raised Forces had very seasonably reduced *Lynn*, a Town in *Norfolk* not far from the Sea, naturally strong, and might have proved impregnable, if Time had

had favoured Art and Industry to have fortified and furnished it with Provisions. But Sir *Hammond Lefrange*, who had before surprized it for the King, was soon surprized himself; and being suddenly summoned by the Earl of *Manchester*, and threatned with a Storm, after he had fired a few great shot against the Besiegers, thought fit to surrender it upon Articles. From thence the Earl of *Manchester* marched to *Boston*, where being joined by Col. *Cromwell*, appointed by the Parliament to command under him, and a Party of Horse brought by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* by Sea from *Hull*, he mustred about six thousand Foot, and thirty seven Troops of Horse and Dragoons. To prevent any further addition to his Forces, the Earl of *Newcastle* advanced with his Army, and sent a strong Detachment of Horse and Dragoons towards *Boston*, appearing by their Standards to be eighty seven Troops, commanded by Sir *John Henderson* an old Souldier, who hearing that Col. *Cromwell* was drawn out towards him with the Horse and Dragoons, made haste to engage him before the Earl of *Manchester* with the Foot could march up, as accordingly it fell out at a place called *Winsby-field* near *Horn-castle*. In the first shock Col. *Cromwell* had his Horse kill'd under him; yet the Encounter was but short, tho very sharp, for there being Field-room enough, the Fight lasted but a quarter of an hour before the Earl of *Newcastle's* Forces were totally routed, and many of them killed:

amongst them the Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Ingram Hopton*, and other Persons of Quality. The Enemy had no time to rally, being pursued by ours almost as far as *Lincoln*, which was fourteen Miles off; in which Pursuit divers of them were killed and made Prisoners, and many Horse and Arms taken. Neither were they suffered to rest at *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Manchester* marching thither the day following, where the Enemies broken Troops had endeavoured to fortify the higher part of the City called *the Close*, but had not quite finished their Works when the Earl arrived, and summoned them to surrender; which they refusing, our Foot and Horse fell on and took it by storm, with little loss on our side.

About this time a considerable Party in *Kent* rose and declared for the King, which was dispersed by some Forces sent from *London*, under the Command of Col. *Brown*; whereby the Committee of *Kent* were encouraged and enabled to raise a good Body of Horse and Foot for the Service of the Parliament.

My Father apprehending that I was not likely to be relieved in three or four Months, in case I were besieged; and knowing that the Enemies were Masters of the Field in those Parts, and that I was about twenty Miles from any of our Garisons, procured an Order from the Parliament, empowering me to slight the Castle of *Warder*, and to draw off the Garison, if I saw cause: which Care of theirs quickned my Zeal

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to their Service, and put me upon endeavouring, as well as I could, to prepare for the worst. To that end being in want of Ammunition, I went to *Southampton*, where I bought what they could spare, and returned to the Castle; where being in great want of Money, having always paid the Country People for whatsoever I had from them, I made a seasonable Discovery of Money, Plate and Jewels, to the value of about twelve hundred Pounds, walled up by the Enemy: Part of this Sum I expended upon the Garison, and gave an account thereof to the Parliament. The Enemy was now beginning to draw about us, yet would not actually besiege us before they had endeavoured to reduce us by Treachery. To this end one Capt. *White* a Papist, of *Dorsetshire*, having found a Boy at *Shaftsbury* fit for the purpose, gave him such Instructions as he thought fit: He was not above twelve Years of Age, and yet, as I was afterwards informed, had already attempted to poison his Grandfather. This Boy he sent to the Castle to desire of me to be admitted to turn the Spit, or perform any other servile Employment; to which I consented, his Youth freeing him, as I thought, from any Suspicion. About three or four days after a Party of the Enemies Horse appeared before the Castle, and making a great shout, the Cattle belonging to the Garison, consisting of about forty Cows and one Bull, which they all followed, ran away at the Noise: Some of us endeavouring to turn them,

the Enemy fired so thick upon us, that one of my Souldiers and my self were forced to betake our selves to a Tree for shelter; where my Souldier levelling his Musquet through a hole of the Tree, which was about a Foot in diameter, a Ball from the Enemy grazing upon the upper part of the Hole, and thereby forced downwards, shot the young Man through the Hand, and me into the Leg, which obliged me to keep my bed for two days. A great Wall-gun called a *Harquebuz de Croq* being fired from the top of the Castle, burst in the middle. At night as this Boy was sitting with the Guard by the fire, some of them conceived a Jealousy of him; and strictly examining him about the cause of his coming, he affirmed it to be because the Master whom he served had used him cruelly for speaking some Words in favour of the Parliament. With which Answer they not being satisfied, threatned that unless he would confess the Truth, they would hang him immediately; and to afright him, tied a piece of Match about his Neck, and began to pull him up on a Halbert. Upon this he promised to confess all, if they would spare his Life; and thereupon acknowledged that Capt. *White* had hired him to number the Men and Arms in the Castle, to poison the Arms, the Well, and the Beer, to blow up the Ammunition, to steal away one of my best Horses, to carry him back to them; for which Service he was to receive half a Crown: confessing that he had accordingly

cordingly poisoned two Cannon and the *Harquebuz* that was broken, but pretended that his Conscience would not give him leave to poison the Water and the Beer. The great Guns were made serviceable again by oiling, and making a fire in them. The Poison he used was of a red Colour, and made up in the shape of a Candle, with part of which he had rubbed three of our Guns. After this Deliverance we got in some Cattle for our Provision, but the Enemy drawing into the Villages about us, soon prevented us from bringing in any more: Yet we ventured one Morning, knowing it to be Market-day, to draw out between forty and fifty Pikes and Firelocks, with which we went about a quarter of a Mile from the Castle upon the Road that leads to *Shaftsbury*. According to our expectation the Market-people came with Carts and Horses loaded with Corn and other Provisions, which we seized and sent to the Castle, paying for it the Market-price, at which they were not a little surprized. By this means we furnished our selves with three Months more Provision than we had before; which we had no sooner taken in, when the Enemy drew round the Castle, and from that time blocked us up more closely, raising a Breastwork by casting up of Earth about a Tree which we had cut down on the side of a Hill; from whence they commanded the Gate of the Castle, the only way that we had to sally out upon occasion, and shot several of our Men, amongst the rest
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my Gunner, as they fetched in Wood. The Person that commanded the Party which lay before us was one Capt. *Christopher Bowyer* of *Dorsetshire*, who, to get us out of the Castle, proposed to grant us what terms we desired; to which we replied, that we designed to discharge our Duty by keeping it as long as we could. Upon this he threatened us with great Numbers of Horse and Foot, attended with several pieces of Cannon, which he said were drawing towards us, boasting of the Justice of his Cause, and representing to us the Greatness of our Danger, and the inevitable Ruin that must ensue upon our Obstinacy: But Capt. *Bean*, who at that time served as Cannoneer, ours being shot, as I mentioned before, told him, that we were not at all affrighted with his Menaces; but upon confidence of the Justice of our Cause, were resolved to defend the Place to the utmost; and warning him to look to himself, fired a Gun, with which he wounded him in the Heel; and it being unsafe for any to carry him off by day, his Wound gangreened before night, and he died about two days after. In the room of Capt. *Bowyer* one Col. *Barnes* was sent by the King to command the Forces that lay before us: he was Brother to an honest Gentleman who was Chaplain to my Father, for whose sake, and because he had the Reputation of being an old Souldier, a thing much valued by the Parliament at that time, my Father had procured him a considerable Employment.

ployment in their Service, in which he continued as long as their constant Pay lasted, but that failing, he ran away to the King. Upon his coming he raised a Fort within Musquet-shot of us, on the Hill that surrounded the Castle, except only on the West-side, where was a Pond of about six Acres. The Enemy possessed themselves of all the Out-houses, but used them only by night, not thinking it safe to come at them by day; which we observing, one Evening conveyed forty Men through a Vault leading to those Houses, ordering them to lie private, and endeavour to surprize them when they came; which had been effected, if one of ours, contrary to order, upon the entrance of the first of the Enemy, had not fired his Pistol, and thereby given warning to the rest to shift for themselves. The Man who was the occasion of this Disappointment was deprived of the use of his Arms till he should attempt something for the redeeming of his Reputation; which soon after, upon a Sally we made on the Enemy, he did, in which we took two of the Enemies Horses, and made some Prisoners. How many of them were killed we could not learn: On our side some were wounded, of whom one died soon after.

A Kinsman of mine, who was related to the Lord *Cottington*, was sent from *Oxford* to offer me what Terms I would desire. I permitted him to come in, that seeing our Strength and Provision, he might make his Report to the
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Enemy to our Advantage: For things were so ordered by removing our Guards from place to place, filling up our Hogsheds with empty Barrels, and covering them with Beef and Pork, and in like manner ordering our Corn, that every thing appeared double, to what it was, to them. The Substance of the Conditions I proposed was: That if I understood from the Earl of *Essex* that he could not relieve us within six Months, we would then deliver the Castle, upon condition, that it should not be made a Garison: That the Parliament should have two thousand Pounds for what they had expended in the taking and keeping of it; with some other Particulars, which the Gentleman carried to *Oxford* with him: but we never had any Return from him about them, neither indeed did we expect any. Our Beer was now spent, our Corn much diminished, and we had no other Drink but the Water of our Well, which tho we drunk dry by day, yet it was sufficiently supplied every night. But being resolved to keep the Castle as long as we could, we shortened our Allowance, so that three Pecks and a half of Wheat one day, and a Bushel of Barley another, served near a hundred Men, which was all our Force, my Troop being sent away before for want of Conveniency for Horse: This Allowance was so short, that I caused one of the Horses we had taken to be killed, which the Souldiers eat up in two days, besides their Ordinary.

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The Forces that had been sent by the Parliament to the Assistance of the distressed Protestants in *Ireland*, being, under pretence that they were neglected, as hath been before mentioned, brought into *England* to serve against those who raised them; and the Rebels, by the Pacification made with them by the King's Order, contrary to his Promise to the Parliament, left in the full Enjoyment of what they had gotten from the English by Rapine or Murder; part of those who came out of *Ireland* landed at *Chester*, and drew before *Nantwich*: they were commanded by one Capt. *Sandford*, Brother to Sir *William Sandford*, a worthy Person of *Grays-Inn*, to whom he had solemnly promised never to engage against the Parliament: Yet did he send in a very threatening Summons to the Town, and seconded it with a most furious Assault, whilst the Works were but slenderly defended, the Guard consisting for the most part of Townsmen, who were then gone to dinner: But it so happened, that a Boy of the Age of fifteen firing a Musquet from the Town, shot him dead in the place, which discouraged his Souldiers from any farther Attempt.

Col. *George Monk*, who had been sent by the Parliament into *Ireland* against the Rebels, for some time scrupled to quit that Service, and to engage in this, being upon that account secured on Ship-board by the Earl of *Ormond*, whilst he sent those Forces into *England*, left he

he should have obstructed their going over; yet having afterwards his liberty to wait on the King, was prevailed with to join with them, and soon after taken Prisoner by a Party from *Yorkshire*, commanded by *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, who sent him Prisoner to *Hull*, from whence some time after he was conveyed to the Tower of *London*. Another Party of the Forces from *Ireland* landed in the West, and marched as far as *Hinden* towards *Warder-Castle*, in order to besiege it.; but being informed that the Person whom they were to dispossess was a Protestant, and he into whose hands they were to put it was a Papist, they mutined against their Officers, and refused to be employed against us.

The Queen landed with an Army of French, Walloons, and other Foreigners, and brought with her great store of Ammunition and Money, procured by pawning the Crown-Jewels in *Holland*. With these and other Forces the Earl of *Newcastle* marched to besiege *Hull*, of which Place the Lord *Ferdinando Fairfax* was Governour, who with the Assistance of the Seamen belonging to some Ships that lay in the Harbour, made so fierce a Sally upon the Enemy, that they were forced to quit some of their Guns, and withdraw to a greater distance, leaving many of their Men behind them, of whom some were killed, and others taken Prisoners. Col. *Overton* carried himself, as I am well informed, with much Honour and Gallantry in this Action. This bad Success so dispirited

rited the Enemy, that they abandoned the Siege, and retired to *York*; to which also the approach of Winter, and the Preparations of the Scots to march into *England*, did not a little contribute: For the Parliaments of both Kingdoms had at length agreed upon Terms, and removed the last and greatest Difficulty, consisting in some doubtful Words in the Covenant, which was to be taken by both Nations, concerning *the preservation of the King's Person*, and *reducing the Doctrine and Discipline of both Churches to the Pattern of the best Reformed*. For which Sir *Henry Vane*, one of the Commissioners of the Parliament, found out an Expedient, by adding to the first Clause these or the like words, *In preservation of the Laws of the Land, and Liberty of the Subject*; and to the Second, *according to the Word of God*. Which being an Explanation that could not be refused, prevented any farther Contestation about that Matter.

About this time the Enemy by cruel Usage put a period to the Life of my Brother Capt. *Robert Ludlow*, who was their Prisoner, as I before related. The News of this, and of the Danger I was in, so afflicted my Father, together with his constant Labours in the publick Service, and possibly his Dissatisfaction about the Imprisonment of his good Friend Mr. *Henry Martin*, for Words spoken in the House, as he conceived, in discharge of his Duty, that he died, expressing himself deeply sensible of the
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Condition of the bleeding Nation, and heartily praying for the Prosperity of the Publick Cause. The Words spoken by Mr. *Martin* in the Parliament were to this purpose, That it was better one Family should perish, than that the People should be destroyed: And being required to explain himself, he ingeniously confessed that he meant the Family of the King; for which he was committed to the *Tower*, but afterwards released, and re-admitted to his Place in the Parliament. About the same time Mr. *John Pym* also died, who had been very instrumental in promoting the Interest of the Nation: His Body was for several days exposed to publick view in *Derby-house* before it was interred, in confusion of those who reported it to be eaten with Lice.

The Enemy before *Warder-Castle* kept their Guards within Pistol-shot of it day and night, so that we could not expect any more Intelligence from abroad; yet one of ours sent by us into the Country a Week before, to inform us of the state of Affairs, met, at an honest Man's House not far from the Castle, a Souldier, whom the Enemy had pressed to serve them; whose Heart being with us, these two agreed, that when Relief should be coming, he who was without should appear with a white Cap on his Head, and blow his Nose with his Handkerchief. In the mean time the Besiegers raised a Battery, and by a shot from thence cut off the Chain of our Portcullis, which rendring
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our Gate unserviceable to us, we made it so to them, by barricading it up on the inside: so that now we had no way out but through a Window, our other Doors being walled up before. But the Battery not answering their expectation, they resolved to try other Experiments, either by digging a Hole in the Castle-wall, and putting a sufficient quantity of Powder therein to blow it up, or by undermining the said Wall, and supporting it with Timber, and then setting it on fire: whereby they supposed to destroy that also on which the Wall rested, and so to bring down the Wall. In order to this they prepared Materials to defend them whilst they were about the Work, and brought together about two dozen of Oaken Plants three Inches thick, which they endeavoured in a dark Night to set up against the Castle-wall, half of them on one side, and half on the other. Our Sentinels discovered them on one side, and beat them off, forcing them to leave their Boards behind them. On the other side they set them up, and in the Morning were heard at work under their Shelter. We heard a noise of digging, but for some time could not perceive where: at length we discovered the place, and endeavoured to remove them, by throwing down hot Water and melted Lead, tho to little purpose. At last with Hand-granadoes we obliged them to quit their Work, and to leave their Tools behind them, with their Provisions for three or four days:

and tho we had no way out of the Castle but by a narrow Window, yet we brought in their Materials and Provisions : for that Morning having shot the Officer that commanded their Guard in the Head, their Trenches not being finished to secure their Approaches to the Out-houses, under the shelter of which they kept their Guard ; and being admonished by what befel Capt. *Bowyer*, of the danger of delaying to dress a Wound, they desired leave to carry off their Wounded Man, which I granted on condition that they would commit no Act of Hostility in the mean time : And when five or six of them who carried him off were about Pistol-shot from the Wall, I appeared with forty Musqueteers ready to fire on the top of the Castle, and ordered three or four Men out of the Window mentioned before, who brought in their Materials.

A Relation of mine, one Capt. *Henry Williams*, who commanded a Company in Colonel *Barns* his Regiment, desiring to be admitted to speak with me, and I consenting, he endeavoured to perswade me to a Surrender, offering me any Conditions I would ask ; but his Arguments made no Impression upon me.

In the mean time the King, to encourage his Friends in the City to rise for him, sent them a Commission to that purpose by the Lady *Aubogny*, which she brought made up in the Hair of Her Head ; but the Design being discovered, she fled for Refuge to the House of the French

Ambassador ; who refusing to deliver her to Sir *Henry Vane* and Mr. *John Lisle*, sent by the Parliament with a Guard to seize her, pretending his Privilege, the House, being informed by Sir *Frances Knowles*, that at the time of the bloody Massacre at *Paris*, one of the French King's Secretaries who was of the Reformed Religion flying to the English Ambassador's House for Protection, and disguizing himself amongst the Grooms, was forced from thence by the King's Command, ordered this Lady to be treated in the like manner, which was done accordingly. Hereupon an Order was passed for the Tryal of those who were engaged in this Conspiracy, and Mr. *Thomson* and Mr. *Challoner* were found guilty, and executed for it. Sir *John Hotham* and his Son were also condemned to lose their Heads for endeavouring to betray the Garison of *Hull* to the Enemy; which Sentence was put in execution upon the Son the 1st of *January*, 1644. and one the Father the day following. Sir *Alexander Carew* was also beheaded for endeavouring to betray *Plimouth*, with the Government of which he was entrusted by the Parliament.

About the 16th of the same *January* the Scots marched into *England*, and having *Berwick* secured for them, the first thing they attempted was the taking of *Newcastle*, which they did by storm: The Lords and Commons for their Encouragement having sentenced, and caused execution to be done upon *William Laud* Arch-

bishop of *Canterbury*, their Capital Enemy, on the 10th of the same Month.

Sir *William Waller* being reinforced with some City-Regiments, thought himself strong enough to take the field: and because the Western Clothiers were often obstructed in their Passage to *London* by the Garison of *Basinghouse*, which was kept for the King, he attempted to reduce it, but was repulsed with loss. After which he marched to *Arundel* in *Suffex*, where he soon beat the King's Garison out of the Town into the Castle, which after some time, and the loss of some Men, was surrendered to him, with several Persons of Quality therein, at Mercy.

About the middle of *January* Sir *William* assured us, that if we held out a Fortnight longer, he would relieve us, or lay his Bones under our Walls. We had also some hopes given us from *Southampton* and *Pool*, the latter of which Places about this time some of the Inhabitants endeavoured to betray to the Lord *Crawford*; but the Design being discovered, as the Enemy was entering the Outworks, and expecting to be admitted into the Town, some great Guns loaded with small Shot were fired upon his Men, and made a great Slaughter amongst them. Between these two Garisons of *Southampton* and *Pool* lay my Troop of Horse, to do what Service they could against the Enemy, and to favour our Relief: where my Cornet, afterwards known by the name of Major *William Ludlow*, was shot through the Body, and
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into the Thigh, and his Horse in two places, by some of the Emeny from an Ambuscade; being brought to *Southampton*, and his Wounds searched, the Bullet that went in at his Belly was found at the Chine of his Back, with a piece of the Waistband of his Breeches, which being cut out, he wonderfully recovered to be in some measure serviceable to the Publick.

To encourage the Forces of *Pool* and *Southampton* to come to our Relief, I sent them word, that they should have seven or eight hundred Pounds to gratify them, which I was able to make good with what I had remaining of the Plate which I had found in one of the Closets of the Castle, as I mentioned before.

Towards the end of the Winter Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who commanded the King's Forces in the West, being informed that the Battery which had fired against us for two Months had done no great execution, and that Col. *Barnes* was more employed in plundering the Country than in advancing the King's Service, sent Sir *Francis Doddington* with a further Supply of Men to reduce us; and with him an Engineer to undermine the Castle. To this end they forced the Miners of *Meinsbup* to assist them. As soon as we heard the noise of their Digging, we endeavoured to countermine them; but the Castle Walls being joined with an entire Wall at the Foundation, the Mortar whereof was so well tempered, that it was harder than the Stones themselves, we could by no means break

through it. Our Medicines were now spent, and our Chirurgeon, who with eight of his Brothers served at that time in my Troop, shot through the Body and disabled, tho the Bullet glancing missed the Vitals. One of his Brothers, with another Souldier, adventured out of the Window in order to procure some means for his Recovery, whilst some of ours by Discourses, firing, and much Noise, drew the Enemy to the other side of the Castle ; so that they safely passed their Guards, and went to the honest Man's House before mentioned, where they met again that Friend of ours, who being pressed by the Enemy to serve them, remained with them to serve us ; and received from him a Letter directed to us from some of our Friends, encouraging us to hold out, and promising us Relief within ten days : of whose Approach this our Friend undertook to give us notice, by the signs before agreed on. Our Messengers having furnished themselves with what they went for, returned to us with this good News, this poor honest Man having drawn off the Sentinel by whom they were to pass.

The ten days being expired, and ten more after them, without any tidings of Relief, our Provisions wasting, I observed a great Silence amongst the Enemy ; and being desirous to know whether our Friend were upon the Guard, that we might learn of him what he knew, we took occasion from their Silence to desire of them, that if they were alive they would

would make some Noise, tho they might not be permitted to speak : which one of them doing by blowing his Nose, we were willing to make a further Discovery ; and having told him he did it in his Sleeve for want of a Handkerchief, he by this time understanding our meaning, appeared in sight, and with his Handkerchief blew his Nose again, endeavouring by Signs and Words to inform us of our Condition, digging in the Wall of the Stable, and laying the Stones in order ; then discoursing with two of his Fellows, he challenged them to play at Football with one of them the next, and with the other the day after ; saying to them aloud, that we might hear, If I beat the first, I fear not the second. Tho we supposed that the first Danger he designed to admonish us of was the Mine ; yet for the more clear discovery thereof, we laid a train of Powder upon the Castle-wall, which he by signs signified to us to be what he intended. But we were mistaken in the Interpretation of his second Action, by which we concluded he designed to represent to us a speedy Relief, if we could hold out against the first ; tho it was indeed another Mine prepared to spring immediately after the first, as we afterwards found, tho we never had the happiness to see or speak with the poor Man more. I received a Letter from Sir *Francis Doddington*, who commanded in Chief before us, wherein taking notice of the Relation between our Families, he expressed himself ready

to do me any friendly Office, and advised me to a timely Delivery of the Castle, lest by refusing so to do I should bring my Blood upon my own head. In my answer I acknowledged his Civility, assuring him, that being entrusted with the Custody of it by the Authority of the Parliament for the Service of the Country, I could cheerfully lay down my Life in discharge of the Trust reposed in me; for that it would not be only in my Defence, but in Defence of the Laws and Liberties of the Nation; and therefore cautioned him how he proceeded any farther in assaulting us, lest he should thereby contract the Guilt of more innocent Blood. His Letter with my Answer he sent to Oxford, as appeared by the weekly News-paper of London, wherein they were printed from that of Oxford, which *Aulicus* published to shew my *Opiniatrete*, and *Britanicus* my Fidelity to the Publick Cause.

The two Nights following we all continued upon the Guard; and upon the Thursday Morning, being very weary, I lay down and slept till between ten or eleven of the Clock, at which time one of my great Guns firing upon the Enemy, shook the Match which they had left burning for the springing of the Mine into the Powder, so that the Mine springing I was lifted up with it from the Floor, with much Dust suddenly about me; which was no sooner laid, but I found both the Doors of my Chamber blown open, and my Window to-
wards

wards the Enemy blown down, so that a Cart might have entred at the Breach. The Party which they had prepared to storm us lay at some distance, to secure themselves from any hurt by the springing of the Mine : but that being done, they made hast to storm, which they might easily do at my Window, the Rubbish of the Castle having made them a way almost to it. Those who stormed on my side were the Irish yellow Coats, commanded by Capt. *Leicester*. My Pistols being Wheel-locks, and wound up all night, I could not get to fire, so that I was forced to trust to my Sword for the keeping down of the Enemy, being alone in the Chamber, and all Relief excluded from me, except such as came in by one of my Windows that looked into the Court of the Castle, through which I called to my Men there acquainting them with my condition, and requiring them to hasten to my Relief. Mr. *Gabriel Ludlow* my Kinsman not only came himself, but ordered others to my Assistance, and to that end placed a Ladder under the Window before-mentioned, which being too short by near two Yards, I was obliged to leave the Breach where the Enemy was ready to enter, five or six times, to take his Arms and himself in ; which being done, he helped in five or six more, whom I ordered to fill up the Breach and the Doors with the Bed, Chairs, Table, and such things as were next at hand. This place being in some measure secured, I went to see what other

other Breaches had been made, and to provide for their Defence, and found one in the Room under me well defended, but that in the Ground-room on the other side not at all ; there I placed a Guard, and ran to the upper Rooms, which had many Doors and Windows blown open, at every one of which I appointed a Guard in some measure proportionable to the Danger. From thence I went to the top of the Castle, which was leaded, and of a sex-angular Figure, with a Turret upon each Angle. Two of these were blown down, with part of the Leads, behind which the Enemy sheltered themselves, so that we could not remove them by our shot ; but by throwing down some great Stones, with which the Mine had plentifully furnished us, we killed one of theirs, and wounded some others. Capt. *Leicester* was one of those who sheltered themselves behind this Rubbish, and desired leave to carry off the wounded Men that were with him ; which I readily granted, letting them know, that we fought not their Blood, but our own Defence. Soon after we also had occasion to make trial of their Humanity ; for one of our Souldiers being buried in the outward Rubbish of the Castle, and yet alive, sent to acquaint me with his Condition, and to desire my Help: Upon which I desired of the Enemy that they would dig him out, and make him Prisoner ; or suffer us to do it, and we would deliver him to them : but they would consent to neither ; and when

I told them that I had not used them so, but had permitted them to carry off their wounded Men, they replied, That tho it was my Favour to suffer that, yet their chief Officer would not permit this. The poor Man lived in this condition near three days, and then through most barbarous Usage, being denied any Relief, he died. We lost three of our Men by the springing of the Mine, but the rest were most wonderfully preserved. Our Provision of Corn, which at the rate we liv'd would have lasted three Weeks longer, was blown up, with part of our Ammunition; but our Provision of Flesh being for about four days, was preserved. Whilst this lasted, I thought it advisable, having repulsed the Enemy, to put the best countenance we could upon our Affairs, hoping by so doing we might bring the Enemy to give us the better Conditions. But Mr. *Balsum* our Minister, with two or three more religious Men, who till that time had carried themselves without discovering any Fear, pressed me very earnestly to propose a Treaty to the Enemy. I told them that it was a very unseasonable time to do any thing of that nature, having beat off the Enemy, and three or four days Provisions left : That I did not doubt before that was spent, by a good Improvement of our time, to bring the Enemy to reasonable terms: Whereas if we should now desire a Treaty with them, they would conclude our Spirits low, our Condition desperate, and

and so hold us to harder terms, or it may be give us none at all. They replied, that if I refused to hearken to their Proposal, they judged that all the Blood that should be spilt in further Opposition would be charged upon my account. This being a very heavy Charge laid on me by Men of Age and Experience, of whose Integrity I had a very good Opinion, I durst not resist any longer, by balancing my Youth and little Experience against their Years and Judgment, and therefore left it to them to do what they should think fit; but they assuring me they would rather lose their Lives than do any thing without me, I promised that if they would call to the Enemy for a Parley, I would answer. Whereupon they moved it to the Enemy, who took time to acquaint their Commander in Chief with it. His Answer was; That since we had refused to treat with him whilst the Castle was whole, he would not now treat with us. I could not forbear letting the Besiegers know, that the Return was no other than I expected: That the Motion did not arise from me, but was consented to by me for the satisfaction of some about me, who were now resolved to expose themselves with me to the utmost Hazards in defence of the Place, without demanding any Terms again; not doubting, if we were necessitated to lay down our Lives in this Service, to sell them at a good rate. My Friends having found their Advice to produce no other effect than I had foretold,

foretold, resolved for the future to be wholly disposed of by me; so that both Officers and Souldiers began to prepare against the utmost Extremity. None of ours had been killed by the Shot during the Storm, but some slightly wounded, and their Cloaths shot through, a Bullet from the Enemy having pierced my Hat close by my Head. The Besiegers had ten killed by Shot and Stones in the Storm, and divers wounded: Amongst the former was one *Hilldeane*, who a little before he expired said, he saw his Brother fire that Musquet by which he received his mortal Wound; which might probably be, his Brother being one of those who defended that Breach where he, attempting to enter, was shot: but if it were so, he might justly do it by the Laws of God and Man, it being done in the discharge of his Duty, and in his own Defence. The Silver Plate belonging to the House, found soon after we were close besieged, I buried in the Cellar, with the help of one of my Servants. On Saturday the Enemy began to converse friendly with us, and a Cessation of Acts of Hostility being agreed upon, a Son of Col. *Barnes*, Capt. *Farmer*, Mr. *Plott*, the Gentleman whom I formerly mentioned to be related to the Lord *Cottington*, and to have endeavoured to persuade me to surrender the Castle before the Siege, with several other Officers, came up close to the Breaches, where we conferred together: and they earnestly pressing me to surrender,

render, I told them I would not be averse to it upon fitting Terms ; for had not those who owned the Castle made use of it to the prejudice of the Country, I presumed it had not been taken from them, and possessed by us, in order to prevent the like Inconveniences for the future; against which conceiving sufficient provision made by the springing of the late Mine, I was willing to quit the same, if we might have liberty to march to the next Garrison belonging to the Parliament, with our Arms, and what else we had in the Castle. They replied, They could not answer to his Majesty the giving of such Conditions to us, Sir *William Waller* having lately refused to receive *Arundel*-Castle from some of the King's Party upon any other Terms than at Mercy, who they know to have been in a much better state of Defence than we were ; and therefore pressed us to deliver ourselves upon the same Condition, promising us much Favour. To this I answered, That some related to us had already experienced the Favours they extended to their Prisoners : That the Compliance of those at *Arundel* ought to be no Precedent to us ; and that unless we might march off, we would not surrender. They told me, the longer I held out the worse it would be for me ; and Mr. *Plott*, who, as he since informed me, had prevailed with them to propose this Treaty, earnestly pressed me to lay hold on the opportunity, intimating by his Words and Gestures, that if I refused it, I
 should

should not have another : but I resolving to defend the Place as long as I could, our Treaty came to nothing. I had some thoughts of charging through the Enemy in the beginning of the Night, in order to force our way to the nearest of our Garisons, which I presumed might have been effected by the Morning; but the desperate Condition in which we must have left our sick and wounded Men, diverted me from putting that Design in execution. And now the Spirits of my Souldiers began to flag; my Gunsmith desiring leave to go home, and several others making choice of one amongst them to speak for them, were very importunate with me to surrender; with which expressing my self displeased, I acquainted them that I would take the best time to do it for their Advantage, and thereby quieted them, so that they resolved to move me no more about it; yet ceasing not to complain to each other of their Wants and Hardships, the Enemy became acquainted thereshith, as they afterwards told me. On the Lord's-day in the Afternoon the Besiegers discoursed with some of our Men who were upon the Leads, endeavouring to draw as many of them as they could thither, that the Breaches being left unguarded, they might have an opportunity to take us by storm; which I perceiving, made use of it to animate our Men afresh, and succeeded so well therein, that the Enemy by our Cheersfulness began to suspect that we had some notice of Relief approaching.

proaching. This Suspicion caused them to continue discoursing with my Souldiers most part of the Night, to get the Truth out of them, promising them liberty to march away, if they would deliver Mr. *Balsum* our Minister, or myself to them. The next Morning many of them came up to one of the Breaches, to persuade us to surrender; which Opportunity being willing to improve, having ten Doors blown open by the first Mine, our Walls that stood being cracked in several places, and another Mine ready to spring, that would probably level the most part of the Castle with the Ground, not having Provision sufficient for one day left, nor any hopes of Relief, I propounded to them to yield my self their Prisoner, if they would consent that those with me might march off. To which they answering, That tho my good Nature led me to make that Offer, yet they could not accept of it: I told them, that unless I might have four things granted, I would not deliver the Castle. 1st. Quarter without distinction for the Lives of every one. 2^{dly}. Civil Usage for all my Party. 3^{dly}. Not to be carried to *Oxford*. 4^{thly}. A speedy Exchange. They promised me I should have all these made good to the full; and Col. *Barns* said, that if I pleased to come out to them, I should find more Friends than I expected: whereupon requiring my Men to be upon their Guard, and not to suffer any to come near them till my Return, I went out to them, and they brought

brought me to the Lord *Arundel* and Sir *Francis Doddington*, who were without the Garden-wall, where my Lord *Arundel* assured me, that what was agreed should be made good to me; and was pleased further to add, that tho he preferred my Conversation before the Enjoyment of his own Children, yet if I thought fit to persist in the way I had begun, he would do his utmost to endeavour that I might be exchanged for his two Sons, who were then Prisoners with Sir *William Waller*. To this I answered, that if I were convinced that the Cause I had engaged in was not good, I should soon recede from it; but till then I could not but persist in the prosecution thereof. Sir *Francis Doddington* told me, he was glad to see me alive, but sorry to find so much Resolution employed in so bad a Cause. I let him know, that my Apprehensions concerning the Cause were very different from this, else I had not hazarded myself as I had done. He also promised the performance of the Articles to the utmost of his Power; and for my self, that whilst I was in his Custody I should have no other Prison but his own Lodgings. Thus all things being agreed upon, I returned to the Castle, and ordered my Souldiers to lay down their Arms; which being done, the Enemy directed them to draw together into a certain Room in the Castle, where they set a Guard upon them; but gave me the liberty of the Place upon my Parole, offering me one or two of my own Company

he took the first opportunity he could find to return to us; and to that end went to the Garrison of *Glocester*, where he was employed, and behaved himself so well, that he was advanced to the Command of a Lieutenant Colonel in a Regiment of Foot; in which Capacity he went afterwards into *Ireland*, where he lost his Life against the Rebels. Having received notice that a Council of War was sitting upon the two Souldiers before-mention'd, and also that they endeavoured to find some Pretext to take away the Life of Mr. *Balsum* our Minister, I sent to admonish them to be careful to preserve themselves from the Guilt of innocent Blood; putting them in mind, that if they proceeded to such a breach of their Faith, they must expect to account for it at another time. Upon this Message one Capt. *Bishop* observing them to persist in their bloody Intentions, withdrew from the Council, and soon after from the Party. But Sir *Francis Doddington* and Capt. *Lutcester* so ordered the matter at the Council, that the two Souldiers were condemn'd, and most perfidiously executed. They also discovered all imaginable Malice against Mr. *Balsum*, but finding no colour to proceed against him in this publick way, they fell upon a more secret and baser Method to take away his Life; to that end sending three Men, who broke in upon him whilst he was at Prayer; but he rising up, and looking steddily upon them, observing them to stand still, demanded of them the cause of

their coming, who standing some time with Horror and Confusion in their Faces, after some Conference with each other, confessed to him, that they were sent to destroy him, but that they found a Superiour Power restraining them, and convincing them of the Wickedness of their Intentions, offering to convey him out of the hands of his Enemies, or to do any thing else for him that he should desire. He thanked them for their Kindness, and being unwilling they should hazard themselves for his sake, desired only some few Necessaries, the Weather being cold; and he in great want, which they readily furnished him with. Soon after he was carried away to *Salisbury*, and the rest of the Officers and Souldiers of our Garison sent to *Oxford*, contrary to the expreis Words of the third Article of our Capitulation, the Enemy pretending to a positive Order of the King for so doing. Sir *Francis Doddington* having dispatched some Affairs in the Country took me with him to *Winchester*, and in our way thither shewed me a Letter from Sir *Ralph Hopton*, desiring him to use all means possible to draw me to their Party, which he endeavoured by making use of the best Arguments he could, to prove the Justice of their Cause, the Probability of their Success, and the Inconsiderableness of our Strength in all Parts, accompanying them with all the Incouragements imaginable. The first Night of our Journey we lay at one Mr. *Aubery's* of *Chalk*, where we met with Dr. *Earl* and young

Mr. *Gataker*, whom he desired to assist him in his design to convert me. Mr. *Gataker* rather chid than argued with me: Dr. *Earl* accused the Parliament of endeavouring the Destruction of Learning, which I desiring him to make appear, he told me, that by abolishing Episcopacy we took away all Encouragement to it; for that Men would not send their Sons to the University, had they not some hopes that they might attain to that Preferment. To this I replied, that it would be much more honest for such Men to train up their Children at the Plow, whereby they might be certainly provided with a Livelihood, than to spend their Time and Money to advance them to an Office, pretended to be spiritual, and instituted for spiritual Ends, upon such a sordid Principle and Consideration. Sir *Francis*, as I conceived, ashamed of the Doctor's Discourse, put an end to the Conversation. The next day we went to *Salisbury*, where, tho' multitudes of People were in the Streets, and in the Inn where I was lodged, no Person offered me the least Incivility, tho' I took the liberty in my Chamber to maintain the Justice of our Cause in the Presence of forty or fifty of the Town. Mr. *John Penraddock*, High-Sheriff of the County, having confined Mr. *Bassum* to the County-Goal, and sent to him to prepare himself to die, assuring him that he was to be executed in a short time, came to me, and with many other Expressions of Kindness, desired me, that in case of any
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Extremity I would send to him, assuring me, that he wished me as well as his own Children, and promising that he would ride Night and Day to serve me. This poor Gentleman was so unhappy, during his Shrievalty, to have two of his Nephews, presuming upon their Uncle's Interest, and pressing through his Guards, killed by them, he having given Order that none should be permitted to pass without a strict Examination. In our way to *Winchester* one Mr. *Fisher*, an Acquaintance of mine, then an Officer of the King's, saluted me, and enquiring how I did, I answered him, As well as one could be in my condition ; he thereupon replying, Why, I hope they use you civilly, do they not ? Yes, said I, very civilly. Sir *Francis Doddington* over-hearing him, took it so ill, that he caused him to be immediately disarmed, telling him, that he was too bold, to call in question the Usage of his Prisoner. Being arrived at *Winchester*, I staid at an Inn till a private Lodging was provided for Sir *Francis*, at whose Quarters, according to his Promise, I lodged, whilst in his Custody. Most of the Officers about the Town came to me at the Inn, several of them pressing me to discourse, and particularly concerning the Justice of our Cause: I excused my self, by reason of my present Circumstances ; but they still persisting, I thought my self obliged to maintain the necessity of our taking up Arms in defence of our Religion and Liberties ; but some of them being

wholly biassed to their Interest, as they went from me, met a Relation of mine, one Col. *Richard Manning*, who, tho a Papist, commanded a Regiment of Horse in the King's Service, and told him, that they came from one of the boldest Rebels that they had ever seen. The Colonel coming to visit me, informed me of this Discourse, advising me, whatsoever I thought, not to be so free with them, lest they should do me some Mischief. The next Morning, before our Departure for *Oxford*, Sir *Francis Doddington* brought me to Sir *Ralph Hopton's* Lodgings, which being the Head-quarters, we found there most of the Principal Officers of that Army, where the General, after he had saluted me, demanded how I, being a Gentleman, could satisfy my self to bear Arms against my King: I told him, that, as I conceived, the Laws both of God and Man did justify me in what I had done. Well, said he, I understand you are so fixed in your Principle, that I am like to do little good upon you by my Perswasions; but shall desire the Archbishop of *Armagh* to take the pains to speak with you, when you come to *Oxford*; and if he cannot work on you, I know not who can. This Bishop was very learned, and of great Reputation for Piety; yet I was assured by one who had his Information from Mr. *Bernard of Batcomb*, that when the said Mr. *Bernard* earnestly pressed him to deal faithfully with the King in the Controversy which was between him and the Parliament

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concerning Episcopacy, according to his own Judgment in that matter, which he knew to be against it, representing to him the great and important Service he would thereby do to the Church of God, the Archbishop answered, that if he should do as Mr. *Bernard* proposed, he should ruin himself and Family, having a Child and many Debts. For this reason those Arguments which could not prevail with me, when used by others, were not likely to be of more Efficacy from him, who in a business of such Concernment had been diverted from the discharge of his Duty by such low and fordid Considerations.

The next day I came to *Oxford*, conducted by a Party of Horse commanded by one who was Captain Lieutenant to Sir *Francis Dodding-ton*, where reposing a while at a House near *Christ-Church*, till the Pleasure of the King might be known concerning me, there came to me two Persons very zealous to justify the King's Cause, and to condemn that of the Parliament. These Men were Irish Papists, sent over by the Rebels in *Ireland* to treat with the King on their part, about assisting him against the Parliament. This I afterwards understood from one of them, whose Name was *Callaghan O Callaghan*, when, together with the Brigade commanded by the Lord *Musquerry*, he laid down his Arms to me in *Ireland*. The King looking upon such Men as most fit to be considered in, gives the Presidentship of *Munster*,
vacant

and other Friends, who had been with me in *Warder Castle*, with many more who were detained there for their Affection to the Parliament, amongst whom were Col. *Shilborn* of *Buckinghamshire*, Col. *Henly* of *Dorsetshire*, Capt. *Haley* of *Glocestershire*, and Capt. *Abercromy* a Scots-man. I had a Friend in the Town who furnished me with what I wanted : those who had not any such means of Relief, were supplied from *London* by a Collection of the Sum of three hundred Pounds, made for them by some Citizens, and conveyed down to them, Neither was *Oxford* it self destitute of some who contributed to ther Relief; one Dr. *Hobbs* in particular, who preached then at *Carfax*, an honest Man of the Episcopal Party, usually putting them in mind of it after his Sermon. The Prisoners taken by the King's Party had been treated very cruelly, especially at *Oxford*, by *Smith* the Marshal there ; but the Members of Parliament that deserted their Trust at *Westminster* coming thither, and sitting in Council there, having not quite lost the Affections of English-men, took the examination of that Affair into their hands, and suspended *Smith* from the execution of his Office, till he should give Satisfaction concerning those things of which he was accused. They committed the Management of the Place to one *Thorp*, and sent some of their own Number to enquire concerning our Usage. In the mean time *Smith* came to me by Order, and offered me the liberty of the

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Town, and to lodg where I pleased therein, upon my Parole to be a true Prisoner : but demanding of him, whether, in case I accepted his Offer, I might have the liberty to visit my Friends in the Castle when I thought fit ; and he answering, that it would not be allowed, I chose rather to be confined with my Friends than at liberty with my Enemies. The Lord *Arundel* endeavouring to make good his Promise of procuring my Exchange for his two Sons, earnestly solicited the King to it ; but tho he had been a great sufferer for his Service, the King positively refused to grant his Request, telling him, he had no use of Children. The Lady *Byron* came to me, and desired me to procure her Husband, who was Prisoner in the Tower, to be exchanged for me, and carried a Letter from me to my Mother then at *London*, about it ; who soliciting the Earl of *Effex* our General to that effect, was desired by him not to trouble her self any more therein, assuring her that he would be as careful of me, as if I were his own Son. A Person from Sir *Edward Stradling* came also to me, in order to an Exchange between us ; telling me, that the King had promised that nothing of that nature should be done before Sir *Edward Stradling* and Col. *Lunsford* were exchanged. The Lord *Willmot* sent a Gentleman to acquaint me that he had procured a Grant from the King, that I should be exchanged for Sir *Hugh Pollard* ; and that if I would write a Letter to the Earl of *Effex* with

with the Proposal, he would send it by a Trumpeter ; but I judging this Exchange to be very unequal, Sir *Hugh* being a Person much esteemed for his Interest and Experience, proposed in my Letter to the Lord General, that he would put some other Person with me into the Balance against him. Whilst I was in expectation of the General's Answer, we received Advice that most of our Foot that lay before *Newark*, commanded by Sir *John Meldrum*, a worthy Scot-man, were defeated and made Prisoners by Prince *Rupert* : But this Loss was in some measure recompensed by a Victory obtained at *Cherington* in *Hampshire*, by our Forces, commanded by Sir *William Waller*, against those of the King commanded by Sir *Ralph Hopton*. The Numbers on each side were very near equal, and the Success had been doubtful for the most part of the day, but at last the Enemy was totally routed, and put to flight : And had good use been made of this Victory, the Controversy had soon been decided in the West ; but we were not yet so happy to improve our Advantages : by which Negligence we got little more than the Field, and the Reputation of the Victory, tho the Enemy lost some of their principal Officers in the Fight, amongst whom were the Lord *John*, Brother to the Duke of *Lennox*, Sir *Edward Stawell*, Col. *Richard Manning*, formerly mentioned, and that *Smith* who had been knighted by the King for rescuing his Standard out of the hands of Mr. *Chambers*,

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Secretary to the Earl of *Essex*. This Fight at *Cherington* happened on the 29th of *March*, 1644. about a Fortnight after the Surrender of *Warder-Castle*, till which time had I been able to keep it, I should have been relieved. The Enemies Officers came to the Castle at *Oxford* to solicit the Prisoners to take Arms under them; but finding their Endeavours to prove ineffectual, they soon desisted from that Attempt. After three Weeks Confinement here, my Exchange was agreed, the Lord General *Essex* expressing much Generosity and Readiness in it, as he had promised to my Mother: for lest the King should be reminded of his Promise to Sir *Edward Stradling* and Col. *Lunsford*, or of that to my Lord *Willmot* in favour of Sir *Hugh Pollard*, and so on either hand the design of my Liberty come to be obstructed, he consented to the Exchange of all the three for Col. *Houghton*, Sir *John Savil*, Capt. *Abercromy*, and my self. Col. *Henley* went off also with us, being exchanged for Lieutenant Colonel *Robert Sandys*. I was led blindfold through the City of *Oxford* till I had passed their Works, and the next day arrived at *London*, where I found the Earl of *Essex* disposed to an Exchange for my Officers and Souldiers, which was soon after made, and with them for Mr. *Balsum*, whom he entertained as his Chaplain to the time of his Death. He expressed a great Desire to provide me with a Command in his Army: but the Parliament, upon the Instances of the Gentlemen that

that served for the County of *Wilts*, having appointed me Sheriff thereof, upon an Invitation of Sir *Arthur Haslerig* to be Major of his Regiment of Horse in Sir *William Waller's* Army, which was designed for the Service of the West, I accepted of it, and mounted the choicest of my old Souldiers with me, Sir *Arthur* buying a hundred Horse in *Smithfield* for that purpose: the rest of my Men the Lord General took into his own Company. As soon as my Troop was compleated, and furnished with all things necessary, I repaired to the Regiment then with Sir *William Waller* near *Abingdon*, who was directed by the Parliament with his Army to block up the King at *Oxford* on one side, whilst the Earl of *Essex* should do the same on the other. Which Storm the Queen foreseeing, withdrew to *Exeter*, where she was delivered of a Daughter, which she leaving in the Custody of the Lady *Dalkeith*, returned to *France*, as well to secure her self, as to solicit for Supplies. In the mean time the King breaking out from *Oxford*, marched towards *Worcestershire*; upon which the Earl of *Essex* commanded Sir *William Waller* to march after him, whilst he himself with his Army marched westward. This Order seemed very strange to the Parliament, and to most of us, being likely to break Sir *William Waller's* Army, which consisted for the most part of Western Gentlemen, who hop'd thereby to have been enabled to secure the Country, and to promote the Publick Service.

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The Parliament sent to the Lord General to observe his former Orders, and to attend the King's Motions ; but he sending them a short Answer, continued his March West, in which he took *Weymouth*, and relieved *Lyme*, that had endured a long Siege, and with the Assistance of the Seamen, tho their Works were inconsiderable, had often repulsed the Enemy, and killed great numbers of them in several Sallies that they made upon them. A Party commanded by Sir *Robert Pye* was ordered to *Taunton*, which he reduced to the Obedience of the Parliament. Upon the Advance of the Earl of *Essex*, the Army of the Enemy commanded by Prince *Maurice* retreated farther Westward. Sir *William Waller*, according to his Orders from the General, followed the King, but could not find an opportunity to engage him ; so that the Summer being almost spent, and the Western Gentlemen observing little done for the Security of those Parts to which they were related, prevailed with him to permit Col. *Alexander Popham*, Col. *Edward Popham* his Brother, my self, and some others, to return into the West, in order to provide Recruits for his Army, and to secure the Country. To this end I received a Commission from him to raise and command a Regiment of Horse, with a Permission to take my own Troop with me. As soon as we came into *Wiltshire* we were earnestly solicited to go to the Relief of Major *Wansley*, who was besieged by the Enemy in *Woodhouse*, formerly

purchased of my Father by Mr. *Arundel*, Brother to the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*. Upon our Approach we understanding that their Forces were drawn off, staid a day or two at the *Devizes*; where notice being brought to us of the Enemies Return before that Place, we immediately advanced, and came that Night to *Warmister*, from whence we sent a Party of about forty Horse, with order to bring us certain Intelligence of the Enemies Condition: This Party meeting upon *Warmister-heath* with about the like Number of theirs, fought them, and having taken some Prisoners, returned to us, with an account, that the Enemy only drew off from *Woodhouse* to reinforce themselves for the better carrying on their Work; in order to which Sir *Ralph Hopton* with a thousand Horse was come from *Bristol*. The next Morning a Party of the Enemies Horse faced us on the Heath, thereby to provoke us to charge them, and then by retreating from us, to have drawn us within their Body of Horse, who were marching on our left amongst the Hedges, endeavouring to get into our Rear; which we suspecting, forbore making any Attempt upon them; and about noon finding that we were not in a condition of performing what we came about, marched off towards *Salisbury*. We were no sooner got upon the Downs, but we discovered their Body of Horse marching into the Town; yet we continued our March, observing the Enemy as well as we could, to which

which end I kept in the Rear ; and discovering them climbing the Hills not far from us, I informed Col. *Alexander Popham* thereof, telling him, that they appearing to be at least four times our Number, I thought it not at all advisable to engage them. But he saying, that since they were so near, we could not in Honour avoid it, I promised him that I would not desert him. Whereupon he drew up his Party into one Body, which with reformed Officers and others consisted of near a hundred ; and I drew up my Troop, consisting of the like Number, into another Body : but having before sent away my Sumpter and led Horses, upon suspicion of the Event, I was obliged to ride after them to take my Suit of Arms which was with them, having ordered my Men not to stir from their Ground till I came back, in which they were very punctual. As I was returning, I met Col. *Popham* and all his Party flying, of whom demanding the Cause of this Alteration of his Resolution, he answered, that it was by no means advisable to fight them. I found my Men standing their Ground, and the Enemy advancing towards them in twelve Bodies, each of which seemed to be as big as ours. I thanked them for obeying my Orders, and told them, that if they continued to do so, I doubted not by the Blessing of God to bring them off. In order to which I sent my Standard before with half a score chosen Horse, and then began to march off with the rest ; but finding some of

my Men beginning to ride for it, I put my self at the head of them, to let them see, that I could ride as fast as they; withal telling them, that if they would stand by me, I would bring up the Rear. By this means I got my Men to keep close together, which contributed much to their Safety. The greatest part of the other Company followed Col. *Edward Popham* to *Salisbury*; but his Brother Col. *Alexander*, with about six Horse, struck out of the way, and retired to *Pool*. After we had made about three Miles of our way, one of my Troopers fell from his Horse, and the Beast running from him, he was in great danger of being destroyed by the Enemy, who was in pursuit of us; which being willing to prevent, I took him up behind me, and his Horse running along with the Company, was taken soon after on the top of the Hill very seasonable; for my Horse was by that time so far spent with the extraordinary Weight, that he could not gallop any longer; but the Souldier mounting his own Horse, mine soon recovered his Wind and Strength again. Twice or thrice the Enemy came up to us, demanding the Word, and were as often repulsed to their Body: the last time we shot one of their Officers, which made them more cautious of approaching us. Many of our Horses being spent, I commanded the Souldiers to quit them, and to run them through, that they might not fall into the hands of the Enemy, advising the Men to shift for themselves,

either amongst the Corn, or in the Villages through which we passed, whereby most of them secured themselves; but some were taken by the Enemy, and killed in cold Blood by one of their Officers after Quarter given, and their Lives promised to them. At last I came to *Salisbury* with about thirty Horse, where divers Persons disaffected to the Parliament made a great shout at our coming into the Town, rejoicing at our Defeat, which they had heard of by some of our Company, who had passed through the Town about an hour before. From thence I continued my way to a place called *Mutton-bridg*, on one side of which there is a Causeway about three foot broad, where I made a halt; and ordering my Party to continue their Retreat towards *Southampton*, I kept some of those who were the best mounted with me, and made good that pass for some time against the Enemy, who tho they followed us as far as *White Parish*, twenty Miles from the place where they first began their pursuit, they took no more of our Men after this Halt which we put them to; so that with the rest I arrived safe at *Southampton*. Two days after my coming to *Southampton* Col. *Norton* received Advice, that the Enemy was preparing to send some Forces, in order to beat off those of ours that blocked up *Basing-house*. He being then before *Winchester*, and resolving to march with his Troop to reinforce the Besiegers, desired me with my Troop to supply his place at *Win-*

chester till his Return. Being unwilling to refuse any publick Service, tho my Men were already very much harrassed, I marched thither; and that those in the Castle might see they were not at liberty to ravage the Country, I drew out my Troop and faced them: upon which they sent out what Horse they had to skirmish with us; amongst whom observing on Mr. *William Neale*, who was of my Acquaintance, and formerly my School-fellow, I called to him, telling him, that I was sorry to see him there; but since it was so, I offered to exchange a shot with him, and riding up to that purpose, he retreated towards his Party, where making a stand, he called to me to come on, which I did; but he retreated again till he came within the shelter of their Foot, and one with him dismounting, fired a Musquet at me loaded with a brace of Bullets, of which one went into the Belly of my Horse, the other struck upon my Breast-plate, within half an Inch of the bottom of it: my Horse carried me off, but died that Night. The Necessities of my Men being great, and this Service not immediately belonging to me, I thought it my Duty to return into *Wiltshire*, where I might expect to be better supplied than in *Hampshire*, to which County I had no relation: therefore sending to Col. *Norton* to make provision for the Service at *Winchester*; I marched with fourscore Horse to *Salisbury*; which Town having triumphed upon our Defeat, I thought most proper to supply

ply us with what we wanted : And to that end having procured a List of the disaffected in the Town, I required them, without delay, to collect amongst themselves five hundred Pounds for the recruiting and paying of my Troop, who had not received any pay since they came out. The Town made many Excuses, and at last prevailed with me to take two hundred Pounds, with which I paid and recruited my Troop ; and having disposed them in the best manner I could for the Service of the Country, I went to *London* to compleat my Regiment, and to furnish it with Arms, and all such things as were necessary.

In the meantime Sir *Francis Doddington* had caused the two Men that he had taken at *Warder* to be hanged, upon pretence that they ran away from him ; and having brought some Pieces of Cannon before *Woodhouse*, made a Breach so considerable in the Wall, that the Besieged were necessitated to surrender at Mercy, but they found very little, for they were presently stripp'd of all that was good about them: and Sir *Francis Doddington* being informed by one *Bacon*, who was Parson of the Parish, that one of the Prisoners had threatned to stick in his skirts, as he called it, for reading the Common-Prayer, struck the Man so many Blows upon the Head, and with such Force, that he broke his Skull, and caused him to fall into a Swoond ; from which he was no sooner recovered, but he was picked out to be one of

the twelve which Sir *Francis* had granted to Sir *William St. Leger* to be hanged, in lieu of six Irish Rebels who had been executed at *Warum* by Col. *Sydenham*, in pursuance of an Order from the Parliament to give them no Quarter. These twelve being most of them Clothiers, were hanged upon the same Tree; but one of them breaking his Halter, desired that what he had suffered might be accepted, or else that he might fight against any two for his Life; notwithstanding which they caused him to be hanged up again, and had proceeded much farther, had not Sir *Ralph Hopton* sent Orders to put a stop to their Butcheries.

The King having ranged about for some time, thought fit to return towards *Oxford*; and being joined by some Foot from thence, skirmished with Sir *William Waller's* Army at *Cropredy-bridg*, wherein little hurt being done on either side, the King marched into the West, in order to a conjunction with his Forces in those Parts, commanded by Prince *Maurice*.

When I first took Arms under the Parliament in Defence of the Rights and Liberties of my Country, I did not think that a Work so good and so necessary would have been attended with so great Difficulties: but finding by Experience the strong Combination of Interests at home and abroad against them, the close Conjunction of the Popish and Prelatical Parties in opposition to them; what vast Numbers depended upon the King for Preferments or Subsistence;

sistence; how many of the Nobility and Gentry were contented to serve his Arbitrary Designs, if they might have leave to insult over such as were of a lower Order; and adding to all this the great Corruption of the Nation, I became convinced of my former Error, and began now more to wonder that they found so many Friends to assist them in their just and lawful Undertaking, than I had done before at the Opposition they met with. In these Thoughts I was every day more confirmed by observing the strange Divisions amongst our own Party, every one striving to enlarge his own Power in a factious and ambitious way, not caring tho thereby they obstructed and ruined the Cause it self. Of this I had some Experience in my own Particular, as well as others of a much greater Figure than my self: for tho my Country-men had in my Absence prevailed with the Parliament to make me Sheriff of the County of *Wilts*, and engaged themselves to raise a Regiment for me; yet because I refused to deliver up my former Commission received from Sir *William Waller*, and to take a new one from the Earl of *Essex*, tho that I had from Sir *William* obliged me to obey the said Earl as much as one given me immediately from himself, those of my Country-men who were of the Faction of the Earl of *Essex*, obstructed me in the raising of my Regiment, keeping from me those Arms that were bought to that end, countenancing my Major, for whom I had procured

cured that Employment, against me, and detaining our Pay from us ; so that I and my Men had nothing to keep us faithful to the Cause but our Affection to it. Yet we were not wanting to improve every Opportunity in the best manner we could, to the Service of the Country ; for having notice that a Garison was put into the Lord *Sturton's* House, and another into that of Sir *Ralph Hopton* at *Witham*, I marched in the Night first to *Sturton-house*, which was defended against us, till each of us carrying a Fagot to one of the Gates, wherewith we set them on fire, together with one of the Rooms of the Castle, those that kept it slipped out at a back-door through the Garden into the Park, which they did undiscovered, by reason of the Darknes of the Night. Having rendred that Place untenable, we hastned to *Witham*, where we found in the Park near a hundred Cattle belonging to Sir *Ralph Hopton*, which served for the Paiment of my Souldiers: Those who were within desired to treat, and demanded liberty to return home ; which was granted, upon condition to deliver up their Arms, and to engage to keep no Garison in that Place for the time to come. Being upon my Return, I took with me my Hangings, Pictures, best Beds, and other things, which my Father's Servants had so well conceal'd at the first breaking out of the War in a private part of my House, that they escaped the Search of the Enemy, who had plundered all they could find, broken all the

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Windows, taken away the Leads, and pulled up the Boards in most parts of the House. Whilst I was at *London*, that Party which I left in the Country had taken some Wool and other things from the Lord *Cottingham*, the Lord *Arundel*, and others, which they sold, and divided the Money amongst themselves. From the Lord *Cottingham's* they brought, amongst others things, a Horse that had been taken from me before at *Warder-Castle*.

The Lord *Fairfax*, the Earl of *Manchester*, and the Scots, besieged *Tork*, of which the Earl of *New-Castle* was Governour, having with him a Garison consisting of six or seven thousand Foot, besides Horse. After some time spent in the Siege, Prince *Rupert* arrived with about eighteen thousand Men, and caused the Besiegers to raise the Siege, who joyning their Forces, resolved to observe his Motions, and to fight him if they found an occasion; but that they might be a little refreshed and furnished with Provisions, which they wanted, they marched towards *Tadcaster*. If Prince *Rupert*, who had acquired Honour enough by the Relief of *Tork* in the view of three Generals, could have contented himself with it, and retreated, as he might have done, without fighting, the Reputation he had gained would have caused his Army to increate like the rolling of a Snowball; but he thinking this nothing unless he might have all, forced his Enemies to a Battle against the Advice of many of those
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that were with him ; in which the Left Wing of the Enemy charging the Right Wing of ours, consisting of English and Scots, so totally routed them, that the three Generals of the Parliament quitted the Field, and fled towards *Cavood* Castle: The Left Wing of our Army commanded by Col. *Cromwell*, knowing nothing of this Rout, engaged the Right Wing of the Enemy commanded by Prince *Rupert*, who had gained an advantageous piece of Ground upon *Marston-Moor*, and caused a Battery to be erected upon it, from which Capt. *Walton*, *Cromwell's* Sister's Son, was wounded by a shot in the Knee. Whereupon Col. *Cromwell* commanded two Field-pieces to be brought in order to annoy the Enemy, appointing two Regiments of Foot to guard them ; who marching to that purpose, were attacked by the Foot of the Enemies right Wing, that fired thick upon them from the Ditches. Upon this both Parties seconding their Foot, were wholly engaged, who before had stood only facing each other. The Horse on both sides behaved themselves with the utmost Bravery ; for having discharged their Pistols, and flung them at each others Heads, they fell to it with their Swords. The King's Party were encouraged in this Encounter, by seeing the Success of their Left Wing ; and the Parliament's Forces that remained in the Field were not discouraged, because they knew it not, both sides eagerly contending for Victory ; which, after an obstinate Dis-

Dispute, was obtained by *Cromwell's* Brigade, the Enemies Right Wing being totally routed and flying, as the Parliament's had done before, our Horse pursuing and killing many of them in their Flight. And now the Enemies Left Wing, who had been Conquerors, returned to their former Ground, presuming upon an entire Victory, and utterly ignorant of what had befallen Prince *Rupert*; but before they could put themselves into any order, they were charged and entirely defeated by the Reserves of *Cromwell's* Brigade. Prince *Rupert*, upon the routing of the Parliament's Right Wing, concluding all to be his own, had sent Letters to the King, to acquaint him with the Victory, upon which the Bells were rung, and Bonfires made at *Oxford*. Sir *Charles Lucas*, Major General *Porter*, Major General *Tilyard*, with above a hundred Officers more, were taken Prisoners by the Parliament's Forces: All the Enemies Artillery, great Numbers of Arms, and a good quantity of Ammunition and Baggage fell also into their hands. The Prince's own Standard, with the Arms of the *Palatinate*, was likewise taken, with many others both of Horse and Foot. Fifteen days after this Fight, being the 16th of *July*, 1644. the City of *York* was surrendered to the Parliament's Forces upon Articles; and the Earl of *Newcastle* having had some Dispute with Prince *Rupert* before the Engagement, wherein some Words had passed which the Earl could not well digest, soon after left

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England, and the Prince retired to *Bristol*.

The Earl of *Essex* was marched with his Army into *Cornwall*; yet to what publick end I could never understand, for the Enemy there had already dispersed themselves. Some said that he was perswaded to march thither by the Lord *Roberts*, to give him an opportunity to collect his Rents in those Parts. Upon this the King drew out what Forces he could from *Oxford*, designing to joyn them with some others in the West; by which Conjunction the Parliament apprehending their Army under *Essex* to be in danger, ordered Sir *William Waller* to observe the King's Motions: But whether the Neglect of relieving him at the *Devizes*, or the Affront put upon him, by commanding him to follow the King after he had been ordered to attend the Service of the West, or what else it was that had sower'd him, I cannot say; yet visible it was, that so much Care and Expedition was not used in attending the King in his Marches as was requisite. However Lieutenant General *Middleton*, then under Sir *William Waller*, was sent with a Party of Horse to the Assistance of the Earl of *Essex*; but he kept at such a distance from him, that he afforded him little Help. Neither was there that Diligence as should have been then used by the Earl of *Essex* himself, to engage the King before his Conjunction with the Western Forces, or to fight them when they were united, they not much, if at all, exceeding ours in Number,
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and in Courage and Affection to the Cause engaged in much inferior. But the Earl of *Essex* and the Lord *Roberts* having led the Army into a Corner of *Cornwall*, betook themselves to the Ships with which the Earl of *Warwick* attended the Motion of the Army. Being thus deserted, the Horse broke through the Enemy under the Conduct of Sir *William Balfour*, the Foot and Train of Artillery being left with Major General *Skipton* about *Bodmin*, who was forced, about the latter end of *September*, 1644. to make the best Terms he could with the Enemy for them, agreeing to leave their Arms and Cannon behind them, and to be conducted into the Parliament's Quarters, with whatsoever belonged to them; but before the Convoy had done with them, they lost most of their Clothes, and in that condition arrived at *Portsmouth*, where they found their General the Earl of *Essex*.

The Parliament soon caused them to be armed and clothed again; and the Horse having forced their way, as before mentioned, the Army was speedily recruited, scarce a Man having taken Arms on the other side. The Earl of *Manchester* and Sir *William Waller* were ordered with their Forces to draw Westward of *London*, as well to favour the Earl of *Essex* upon occasion, as to put a stop to the Enemies Approach, if he should attempt it. The King marched, as was expected, in great Triumph out of the West, Sir *William Waller* lying about

bout *Basingstoke* ; from whom I received a Letter, inviting me to come to their Assistance ; in order to which I began my March with some Horse and Dragoons raised by Major *Wansley*, who had been commanded by the Earl of *Essex* to continue with me ; and on the way received an Order from the Committee of both Kingdoms, to advance towards them with what Force I had. We were very well received by them, having with us about five hundred Horse, and particularly because they had been under some apprehensions that the Enemy had intercepted us , who were indeed posted on our way ; yet we passed by them in the Night without disturbance, and came safely to our Friends. Within a day or two our Army advanced towards *Newbury*, of which Place the Enemies had possessed themselves. The Earl of *Essex* being indisposed, could not attend that Service, and therefore the Committee of both Kingdoms sent some Members of their own to take care that all possible Advantages might be taken against the Enemy, and to prevent any Contention among our Friends concerning the Command, or any other Matters. The River that ran through the Town defended the Enemy on the South-side of it, so that we could not come at them : And on the North-west part of it, within Cannon-shot, lay *Dennington-Castle*, in which they had placed a Garison ; so that we had no other way to the Town, but on the North-East of it, where they had raised

a Breast-work, and furnished some Houses that were without it with Foot, the Ground between that and the River being marshy, full of Ditches, and not passable. On the North-side of this High-way was a strong Stone House belonging to one Mr. *Doleman*, having a Rampart of Earth about it, which was also possessed by the Enemy; so that little could be done upon them the first day, save skirmishing in small Parties, as they thought fit to come out to us. On our side we had the Advantage of a Hill, which served in some measure to cover our Men: Here we planted some of our Field-pieces, and fired upon the Enemy, who answered us in the like manner from the Town. In the Afternoon they drew two of their Guns to the other side of the River, and with them fired upon that part of ours that lay on the side of the Hill, who were much exposed to that place where their Guns were planted: My Regiment being that day on the Guard, received the greatest Damage; amongst others my Cousin *Gabriel Ludlow*, who was a Cornet therein, and who had behaved himself so well in the Defence of *Warder-Castle*, was killed: He died not immediately after he was shot; so that having caused him to be removed out of the reach of their Guns, and procured a Chirurgurgeon to search his Wounds, he found his Belly broken, and Bowels torn, his Hip-bone broken all to shivers, and the Bullet lodged in it; notwithstanding which he recovered some

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Sense, tho the Chirurgeon refused to dress him, looking on him as a dead Man. This Accident troubled me exceedingly, he being one who had expressed great Affection to me, and of whom I had great hopes that he would be useful to the Publick. In this condition he desired me to kiss him, and I not presently doing it, thinking he had talked lightly, he pressed me, again to do him that favour; whereby observing him to be sensible, I kissed him; and soon after having recommended his Mother, Brothers and Sisters to my Care, he died. Our Enemies having secured themselves, as I mentioned before, we were necessitated to divide our Army, in order to attack them on the North-west side of the Town by *Dennington-Castle*; where most of our Foot who engaged the Enemy were of those who had been lately stripp'd by them in *Cornwall*: Which Usage being fresh in their Memory, caused them to charge with such Vigour, that some of them ran up to their Cannon, and clapped their Hats upon the Touch-holes of them, falling so furiously upon the Enemy, that they were not able to stand before them, but were forced to quit their Ground, and run under the shelter of *Dennington-Castle*, leaving behind them several Pieces of Cannon, besides many of their Men killed and taken Prisoners. Those on our side commanded by the Earl of *Manchester* observing the Enemy to retreat in that disorderly manner on the other side, thought it their Du-

ty to endeavour to force their Passage on this ; and to that end our Horse and Foot, with some Cannon, were drawn into a bottom, between *Doleman's* House and the Hill, where our Guns were first planted : Those at the little Houses, and at the Breast-work, fired thick upon us ; but our Foot ran up to the Houses, and attacked the Enemy so vigorously, that they were forced to retire to their Breast-work ; between which and *Doleman's* House our Men continued firing about an hour and half. But finding many to fall, and that there was no probability of doing any good, they retreated, leaving two Drakes behind them. Our Horse had stood drawn up within a little more than Pistol-shot of the Enemies Works all the while our Foot were engaged, for their Encouragement and Protection against any Horse that should attack them, as also to second them in case they had made way. I had divers Men and Horse shot, and amongst the rest my own. The Night coming on separated us, when drawing off I perceived that my Major had secured his Troop in the Rear of all, having taken care that all the Regiment might not be lost in one Engagement. In the Night the Enemies removed their Cannon and other Carriages to *Dennington-Castle*, where having lodged them; they marched between our two Parties towards *Oxford*. The next Morning we drew together, and followed the Enemy with our Horse, which was the greatest Body that I saw together during the

whole Course of the War, amounting to at least seven thousand Horse and Dragoons; but they had got so much Ground of us, that we could never recover sight of them, and did not expect to see them any more in a Body that Year: neither had we, as I suppose, if Encouragement had not been given them privately by some of our own Party. Col. *Norton's* Regiment of Horse, with some Foot, being left to block up *Basinghouse*, he desired to have more Force assigned him for the more effectual carrying on that Work, and particularly my Regiment of Horse. I was not ignorant of the Hardship of that Service, it not being properly my Work, who was raised by and for the County of *Wilts*; yet having received an Order to that purpose from the General, and sent my Major with part of the Regiment into *Wiltshire* for the Defence of that Country, I resolved to obey, especially considering that the Entercourse between *London* and the West was much interrupted by that Garison.

The Enemy, contrary to all expectation, appeared again in a Body near *Newbury*, where our Army lay, who drew out to oppose them. Some small Skirmishes happened between them, but a general Engagement was opposed in a Council of War by some of the greatest amongst us. Whereupon the King, in the face of our Army, twice as numerous as his, had time to send his Artillery from *Dennington-Castle* towards *Oxford*, without any opposition,

on, to the Astonishment of all those who wished well to the Publick. But by this time it was clearly manifest that the Nobility had no further Quarrel with the King, than till they could make their Terms with him, having, for the most part, grounded their Dissatisfactions upon some particular Affront, or the prevalency of a Faction about him. But tho it should be granted, that their Intentions in taking Arms were to oblige the King to consent to redress the Grievances of the Nation; yet if a War of this nature must be determined by Treaty, and the King left in the Exercise of the Royal Authority after the utmost violation of the Laws, and the greatest Calamities brought upon the People, it doth not appear to me what Security can be given them for the future Enjoyment of their Rights and Privileges; nor with what Prudence wise Men can engage with the Parliament, who being by Practice at least, liable to be dissolved at pleasure, are thereby rendred unable to protect themselves, or such as take up Arms under their Authority, if after infinite Hardships and Hazards of their Lives and Estates, they must fall under the Power of a provoked Enemy, who being once re-established in his former Authority, will never want means to revenge himself upon all those who, in Defence of the Rights and Liberties of the Nation, adventure to resist him in his illegal and arbitrary Proceedings.

In the Council of War before-mentioned,

things were managed with such heat as created great Differences between the principal Officers of the Army, by which this favourable Conjunction was lost ; and the Season being far advanced, the Army was dispersed into Winter-quarters. The Blockade of *Basinghouse* was also ordered to be broken up, after which I returned with those under my Command into the County of *Wilts*. In the Winter the Parliament caused *Abingdon* to be fortified, of which Place Col. *Brown* was Governour, who holding Correspondence with the Lord *Digby*, then Secretary to the King, promised him that so soon as he had finished the Fortifications, and received all things necessary from the Parliament to defend it, he would deliver it to the King ; by which means he kept the King's Forces from interrupting him till he had perfected the Work. But then, as is probable by his Carriage since, observing the Affairs of the Parliament in a better posture than those of the King, he altered his Resolution, and in defiance of the Lord *Digby*, published the Correspondence that had been between them about that matter. The Dissatisfaction that arose upon the permission given the King to carry off his Artillery, rested not till the House of Commons was made acquainted with it by Col. *Cromwell*, who commanded under the Earl of *Manchester*, whom he charged with the breach of his Trust ; but he and his Friends endeavoured to lay the blame on others, the Earl of *Essex* and his Party adhering

hering to the Earl of *Manchester*. Whilst I was before *Basing*, some of the Enemies under the Conduct of Col. *Coke* came to *Salisbury*, and were fortifying the *Close* for the King; of which Major *Wansley* having advice, marched thither with the Forces which I had sent into *Wiltshire*, and falling upon them, caused them to retire in haste: but finding the Gates fortified against him, he set fire to them, and seizing upon all their Horse, took the Colonel and four-score more Prisoners, and sent them to *Southampton*.

At my Return into *Wiltshire* I received Orders from the Committee of both Kingdoms to send what Men I could spare out of my Regiment to reinforce a Party commanded by Major General *Holborn*, who was ordered to march into the West to the Relief of Col. *Blake*, besieged by the Enemy in *Taunton*. I drew out two hundred Horse for that Service, and was necessitated to march with them my self, my Major who had got possession of good Quarters at *Deane*, a House belonging to Sir *John Evelyn*, being not willing to remove. Col. *Edward Popham*, Col. *Starr*, Col. *Brewin*, and Sir *Anthony Ashley*, came from *London* with this Party. In our March we were joined by the Forces of *Dorsetshire*. When we were advanced near the Enemy, my Troop was ordered to a Quarter of which they were in possession, but quitted it upon our Approach, as they did also the Siege soon after, contrary to our expectati-

on. We made use of the Opportunity, and furnished the Town with Provisions and all things necessary; which being done, the Forces of *Wilts* and *Dorsetshire* marched back to the said Counties. Being returned to *Salisbury*, I was informed that the Enemy had put a Garrison into *Langford-house*, two Miles from thence, whereupon I resolved to fortify the Belfrey in the *Cloſe*, where I might keep a small Guard to secure it for a Horse-quarter, and to that end had summoned Workmen to perform that Work. At Night having drawn up my Regiment in order to acquaint them with the necessity that lay upon them to be more than ordinarily diligent in their Duty at that juncture, as also to divide their Watches between them, and to appoint the Guard for that Night, I received an Alarm of the Enemies Approach, and that they were advanced as far as *Amesbury*: Of which desiring to have certain Information, I sent threescore Horse under the Command of Capt. *Sadler*, the only Captain of my Regiment then with me, some of them being absent with leave, and others without, to advance towards the Enemy, till by taking of Prisoners, or some other way, he might get some certain Intelligence concerning them, and then to come back to me. With the rest of my Men I marched slowly after him, being unwilling to retire into our Quarters till I had made a further Discovery concerning the Enemy. Capt. *Sadler*, according to his Instructions, marched to *Amesbury*,
and

and sent me word from thence, that he had advice the Enemy was not far off. I sent to him to continue his March, with the same Orders as before, my self with the rest of the Regiment following; and being come to *Nether-Haven*, as I think it is called, I received notice from Capt. *Sadler*, that he had engaged an advanced Part of the Enemy, and could not get off; which unexpected News, and contrary to my Orders, caused me to advance with all Diligence to his Relief, who had approached so near their main Guard, as to give them an Alarm to draw together, and yet had not pursued his Charge, which if he had done, he might easily have dispersed the Guard, and prevented the rest from coming together; but he having only alarm'd them, stood looking upon them whilst they drew up their Body, which, when I came up, I perceived to be more numerous than all ours: However thinking it unfit to shew any Backwardness at such a time, I advanced with that Party that was with me, which was not above one half, the rest following as fast as they could, in order to charge the Enemies Body; but they, before we came within Pistol-shot, faced about and ran away. Thereupon I divided my Men into two Parties, giving the Command of one of them to one *Marshal*, my Major's Lieutenant, the chief Officer then with me, except Capt. *Sadler*, with whose Conduct the Troopers were so far dissatisfied, that they refused to follow him. The
other

himself to be at my Mercy, desired his Life. His Horse I gave to one of my Men who had been dismounted ; and having examined him, I found that he was a Lieutenant Colonel, his name *Middleton*, and a Papist. He assured me, that there were three hundred Men in that Party which we had routed, three hundred appointed to second them, and three hundred more attending at the Town's-end as a Reserve, and that the whole Body was commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*. I acquainted him that my Party being not so considerable, he might probably be rescued, and therefore I could not give him Quarter, unless he would engage himself to be a true Prisoner, which he did, upon condition that he might be my Prisoner, which I promised him. And now most of my Men being dispersed, I lodged my Colours at an honest Man's House of the Town, delivering my Prisoner and wounded Men to the Guard in the Belfrey, and with five or six made my Retreat through the Close by one Mrs. *Sadler's*, at whose House I quartered, where I found a Boy standing at the door with my Sute of Arms, which I put on. Upon *Harnham-hill* I found a Cornet with about twelve of our Men, with whom I resolved to return and march after the Enemy, but when we came to the Belfrey, and were encouraging our little Guard to oppose the Enemy, we discovered three of their Troops marching into the Close from the North-Gate, their whole Body

fol-

following them. Whereupon having commanded the Guard to fire upon them, I charged the Enemy with as many of my Party as were willing to follow me, exchanging several shot with them. Their first Squadron soon began to give ground; but my Guard not firing upon the Enemy according to my Orders, and it being now grown light, they soon perceived the Smallness of our Number, and refused to run as before; so that I was forced to retire as fast as I could with my Men, one of whom carried away a Sword of the Enemy which was run through his Arm. Before they came to *Harnham-bridg* they overtook one of my Servants whose Name was *Stent*, who after he had long defended himself, delivered up his Sword upon promise of Quarter; after which, contrary to their Word, they gave him several Cuts on the Head, so that about threescore Splinters of Bones were afterwards taken out of his Scull. Being come to the other side of the Bridg, I turned and faced the Enemy, with one of my Pistols in my hand, upon which they halted a little, whereby my Men had time to recover almost to the top of *Harnham-hill*. In this posture I stood till the Enemies were come within half Pistol-shot of me, and then made my Retreat. Another of my Servants, called *Henry Coles*, who entred into my Father's Service two days after I was born, fell also into the Enemies hands, being mortally wounded, and died two or three days after. My Groom
also

also was taken by them. Upon the descent of the Hill beyond *Odstock* I missed the Road by reason of the Snow, which lying upon the Ground, had covered the beaten way, so that I was obliged to cross some plow'd Lands to get into it again; which while I was doing, one of the Enemy came up within shot of me, and calling me by my Name, asked if I would take Quarter; but as he rid directly upon me, armed with Back and Breast, I fired a Pistol at him, and shot him into the Belly; by which Wound he fell from his Horse, and was carried to the next Town, where he died two days after, as one of my Troopers afterwards told me, who was taken Prisoner near the same Place. In *Odstock-laze* another of the Enemies being advanced within Musquet-shot of me, called me also by Name, and desired me to stay and take honourable Quarter. I hearing him give good Words, thought he had proposed to render himself to me, and therefore stopped my Horse that I might hear him more distinctly; but he instead of that made ready his Carabine to fire at me, which I perceiving, and sensible of my danger, by reason of the Greatness of the Enemies Number, made the best of my way towards *Fording-bridg*, where having rested a little, and rallied a Party of my Horse, I marched with them to *Southampton*. At that Place I endeavoured to procure some Force for the Relief of those poor Men that were left in the Belfrey at *Salisbury*; which as I was doing,

I received Advice, that after a vigorous Resistance for the most part of that day, the Enemies had forced a Collier to drive his Cart, loaden with Charcoal, to the door of the Belfrey, (where he lost his Life) and with it burnt down the door, which in a day's time we should have secured by a Breast-work; but for want thereof Lieutenant Colonel *Read* was forced to yield the Place to the Enemy upon such Terms as he could get, which were, to have their Lives, and be Prisoners of War. The Enemy took here, and in the Town, as also of those who pursued them in the Night, contrary to my Orders, fourscore Prisoners; and had taken more if they had not received a Check upon their first Arrival in the Town by a handful of Men: For they had placed Guards at the Gates of most of the greatest Inns in the City; but their Party flying, those Guards also quitted their Posts, whereby many of our Men had an opportunity to get off. I was slightly wounded on the Breast with a Sword: my Horse was hurt with a shot, and died of it soon after. We had about threescore of the Enemy Prisoners at *Southampton*, taken with Col. *Coke*; these we exchanged for our Men, having engaged to procure elsewhere the Discharge of as many as we wanted of the Number they had of ours, which I made good to them. The most serviceable of my Horse I sent towards *Portsmouth*, to take Advantages against the Enemy as there should be occasion, remaining
with

with the rest about *Limington* and *Hast-Castle*, resolving as soon as I could to mount my Men again. The Enemy hoping to surprize me in this Corner marched towards me, but failed in their Design. I being gone to the *Isle of Wight* to confer with our Friends there, whom I found very well disposed to the Publick Service; and being informed that the Enemy designed to attempt the Garison of *Christ-Church*, we embarked some Men to reinforce them, who being ready to put to Sea, News was brought that the Enemies were beaten off, and so saved our Men that trouble. The Lord *Goring* having left a considerable Force in the County of *Wilts*, marched with his Army into *Somersetshire*, where being joined by those who had besieged *Taunton*, they sat down before it again: Col. *Masse*y was sent by the Parliament to relieve the Place, but finding his Forces not sufficient to that purpose, he durst not attempt it.

• The Committee of both Kingdoms ordered my Regiment to lie at *Odium* to prevent the ExcurSIONS of the Garison at *Basinghouse*; but after we had been there a few days, my Major who had more Wit than Courage or Honesty, prevailed with the Council of Officers to vote our lying there unsafe and unadviseable. I being unwilling to stay contrary to their Advice, without an especial Order, acquainted the Committee of both Kingdoms with the Result of the Council of Officers, who approving their Reasons,

sons, sent me Orders to draw off; In obedience to which I marched into *Surrey*, and the first Night arrived at a place called, as I think, *Godliman* near *Guilford*. Sir *John Evelyn* endeavoured to perswade me to join Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, who was ordered into the West; but being engaged to attend our Committee about the recruiting of my Regiment, I was not willing to stir till that Business was effected, that I might not leave so many honest Men who had lost their Horses in the Service, before I had procured some provision to be made for them. The Disputes in the mean time continued in the two Houses concerning the Conduct of the Army; and tho what was objected touching the late Miscarriages at the Fight of *Newbury*, and elsewhere, amounted not to a formal Charge, yet it so far prevailed with the House of Commons, as to convince them of the necessity of making an Alteration in the Conduct of the Army, in order to bring the War to a conclusion; which Resolution was taken by the House upon a Report made to them by Mr. *Zouch Tate*, Chairman of the Committee appointed for the reforming of the Army, wherein he represented that they had been endeavouring to obey their Orders, but found the Condition of the Army as the Physician did the Blood of his Patient, that consulted him about the Cure of a slight Tumour, when the whole Mass of his Blood was intirely corrupted; that therefore the Committee had or-

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dered him to acquaint the House, That the whole Body of their Army being infected, nothing would serve for their Recovery less than the entire renewing of their Constitution. The House, that they might do it without giving occasion to any sinister Reflections upon themselves,* agreed upon a self-denying Ordinance, the Grounds whereof were expressed to be, the clearing of the Parliament from the Aspersions cast on them, of prolonging the War on purpose to gratify each other with Places, and neglecting their Duty in the House by holding Employments in the Army: They therefore enacted, that all Members of Parliament should surrender the Offices they held from them, that they might the better attend their Duty in Parliament. By this means the Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Manchester*, and Sir *William Waller*, were laid aside, the latter rather to shew their Impartiality, than from any Distrust of him, he having never discovered to that time any Inclination to favour the King's Cause. Upon this Change Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was voted General, and *Philip Skippon* Major General of the Foot. A Committee was also appointed to consider what Number of Horse and Foot this Army should consist of, and who under the General should command them. They agreed also upon the Colonels, some whereof were Scots, as *Middleton*, *Holborn*, and others, who disliking the Design, refused to accept of Employments. *Pointz* was commissioned to command the

Forces in the North, and *Massey* those in the West, consisting chiefly of such as had served under Sir *William Waller*. The Committee would have named me for the Command of a Regiment; but the Gentlemen who served in Parliament for the County of *Wilts*, pretended then that they could not spare me; yet soon after, observing me not fit to promote a Faction, and solely applying my self to advance the Cause of the Publick, they combined against me, and procured me to be laid aside, under colour that they stood not in need of more than four Troops for the Service of the Country, of which they offered me the Command; and I should not have declined it, had I found my Endeavours answered with suitable Acceptance, or that they whom I served had been willing the Publick Cause, for which I was ready to sacrifice my Life, should prosper: but the contrary being most evident; and tho some of the Gentlemen continued to manifest their Fidelity to the Publick, and their Affection to me, yet most of them having now espoused another Interest, and rejoicing at any Loss that fell upon ours, I chose rather to desist and wait for a better Opportunity to improve my Talent for the Service of the Publick. My Major, notwithstanding his Artifices, being disappointed in his Expectation to command these Troops, openly pulled off the Mask, and with about thirty of his Troop, and some Strangers, under pretence of beating up a Quarter of the

Enemy, went over to them, having sent his Wife before to give them notice of his Design. But his Lieutenant continuing faithful to the Publick, hindred most part of his Troop from following him. Soon after he undertook to raise a Regiment in the North Parts of *Wiltshire* for the King; but whilst he was attempting to effect it, an Encounter happened between him and some Forces of the Parliament, wherein being worsted, and endeavouring to save himself by leaping over a Ditch, he fell with his Horse into it, and was so bruised with his Fall, that he never spoke more, thereby receiving such a Recompence as was due to his Treachery.

About the same time that the Parliament made Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General of their Forces, the King made Prince *Rupert* General of his, notwithstanding his late ill Success at *Marston-Moor*, to the great Dissatisfaction of many of his Council.

The Committee of *Wilts* divided themselves, one part of them to sit at *Malmsbury*, and the other to reside about *Salisbury*; but wanting a Place for their Security, they put a Garison into *Falston-house*; and Capt. *Edward Doyly* contending with Major *William Ludlow* for the Government thereof, the Committee at *London* gave it to the latter, who with his Troop somewhat restrained the Excursions of the King's Party from their Garison thereabouts. That part of the Committee which sat at *Malmsbury* having

having some Affairs to dispatch at *Marlborough*, went thither accompanied by Col. *Devereux*, Governour of the Place. The first Night after their Arrival a Party of the King's surprized them there, and took some of the Committee, with the said Governour, and most of the Forces they had with them, Prisoners.

The Parliament, tho they were not wanting to make all fitting Preparations for War, yet neglected no honest Endeavours to procure Peace, assuring themselves that they should be the better enabled to bear whatsoever might be the Event of the War, if they took care to discharge their Consciences in that Particular, and to manifest, that as they had been compelled to it by mere necessity, so, if it must be continued, it should not be through their Choice or Obstinacy. To this end it was agreed, that Commissioners should be sent from the Parliament, to treat with others to be sent from the King about Conditions of Peace. The Place of their Meeting was at *Uxbridge*, where after the King had owned the two Houses as a Parliament, to which he was not without difficulty perswaded, tho he had by an Act engaged that they should continue to be a Parliament till they dissolv'd themselves, which they had not done; and consented that his Commissioners should treat in the same Quality they were in before the War, the Commissioners of Parliament declining to give them the Titles conferred upon them since; they made some Pro-

gress in the Treaty, which began the 13th of January, 1645. but the Proposition concerning the Bishops being rejected, it came to nothing. During the Treaty Mr. Love, one of the Chaplains attending the Commissioners of Parliament, preaching before them, averred, That the King was a Man of Blood, and that it was a vain thing to hope for the Blessing of God upon any Peace to be made with him, till Satisfaction should be made for the Blood that had been shed. For these Words the King's Commissioners demanded Satisfaction; but the Treaty breaking up, nothing was renewed thereunto. And now both Parties renewed the War, *Weymouth* being seized for the King, and some Advantage obtained against the Parliament near *Pomfret*. On the other side, the Forces of the Parliament surprized the King's Town of *Shrewsbury*, whereby the English Correspondence with *Wales* became much interrupted. They also recovered *Weymouth* with the help of the Garrison of *Melcolm-Regis*, which is separated from the said Town by a small Arm of the Sea, with a Bridge over it, and which was preserved by the Industry of the Governour Col. Sydenham.

Col. Cromwell, notwithstanding the Self-denying Ordinance, was dispensed with by the Parliament; and being empower'd to command the Horse under Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, he march'd with a Party of Horse and Dragoons from *Windsor*, and at *Islip-Bridge* met, fought, and de-

defeated the Queen's Regiment of Horse, together with the Regiments of the Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and Col. *Palmer*, taking five hundred Horse and two hundred Foot Prisoners, whereof many were Officers and Persons of Quality. After which he summoned *Blechington-house*, which was surrendered to him by Col. *Windebank*, Son to the late Secretary of State, who coming to *Oxford*, was shot to death for so doing. He forced Sir *William Vaughan*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Littleton*, with three hundred and fifty Men, into *Bampton-bush*, where he took them both, and two hundred of their Men Prisoners, with their Arms; sending Col. *Fiennes* after another Party, who took a hundred and fifty Horse, three Colonels, and forty private Souldiers Prisoners, with their Arms: and being reinforced by about five hundred Foot from Col. *Brown*, he attempted *Faringdon-house*, but without Success.

General *Fairfax* leaving Lieutenant General *Cromwell* to block up the King at *Oxford*, with the Body of the Army marched Westward, with a design to relieve *Taunton*; but being ordered by the Committee of both Kingdoms to besiege *Oxford*, he appointed Col. *Welden* to relieve that Town, which he easily effected, the Enemy marching off at his Approach, apprehending them to be the whole Army marching against them, as they before had been informed. The King sent the Prince of *Wales*, accompanied with *Hyde* and *Culpeper*, into the

West, to raise Forces; and despising the *New Model*, as it was called, because most of the old Officers were either omitted by the Parliament, or had quitted their Commands in the Army, judging himself Master of the Field, marched towards *Leicester*, and by this time was grown so considerable, that the Committee of both Kingdoms thought it high time to look after him, and to that end commanded the General with the Army to march and observe his Motions; but before he could overtake him the King had made himself Master of *Leicester* by storm, and plundered it, with the loss of about seven hundred Men on his side, and about one hundred of the Town. Being encouraged with this Success, and with the consideration that he was to encounter with an unexperienced Enemy, upon advice that our Army was in search of him, he advanced towards them, and both Armies met in the Field of *Naseby* on the 14th of June, 1645. Some days before one Col. *Vermuyden*, an old Souldier, who commanded a Regiment of Horse, had laid down his Commission, whether through diffidence of Success, or what other Consideration, I know not: and in the beginning of the Engagement Major General *Skippon*, the only old Souldier remaining amongst the chief Officers of the Army, received a shot in the Body from one of our own Party, as was supposed unwillingly, whereby he was in a great measure disabled to perform the Duty of his Place that day, t o

extreamly desirous to do it. Under these Discouragements the Horse upon our Left Wing were attacked by those of the Enemies Right, and beaten back to our Cannon, which were in danger of being taken, our Foot giving ground also. But our Right Wing being strengthened by those of our Left that were rallied by their Officers, fell upon the Enemies Left Wing, and having broken and repulsed them, resolving to improve the Opportunity, charged the main Body of the King's Army, and with the Assistance of two or three Regiments of our Infantry, entirely encompassed the Enemies Body of Foot, who finding themselves deserted by their Horse, threw down their Arms, and yielded themselves Prisoners. By this means our Horse were at leisure to pursue the King, and such as fled with him towards *Leicester*, taking many Prisoners in the pursuit, who with those taken in the Field amounted in all to about six thousand, and amongst them six Colonels, eight Lieutenant Colonels, eighteen Majors, seventy Captains, eighty Lieutenants, eighty Ensigns, two hundred inferiour Officers, about one hundred and forty Standards of Horse and Foot, the King's Footmen and Servants, and the whole Train of Artillery and Baggage. This Victory was obtained with the Loss of a very few on our side, and not above three or four hundred of the Enemy.

In the Pursuit the King's Cabinet was taken, and in it many Letters of Consequence, particularly

Irisb added by the King himself. There was likewise a Letter to the French King, complaining of the Unkindness and Ingratitude of the Queen, and of the Reasons of the Removal of her Servants that she brought over with her; of which it had been Discretion in the King to have kept no Memorials, such Matters, when buried in Oblivion, being next best to the not having any Differences between so near Relations. Many more Letters there were relating to the Publick, which were printed with Observations, by Order of the Parliament; and others of no less Consequence suppressed, as I have been credibly informed, by some of those that were intrusted with them, who since the King's Return have been rewarded for it. One Paper I must not omit which was here found, being that very Paper which contained the principal Evidence against the Earl of *Stratford*, and had been, as before mentioned, purloined from the Committee appointed by the House of Commons to manage the Charge against him, having these Words written upon it with the King's own Hand, *This Paper was delivered to me by George Digby*, tho he, as well as the rest of that Committee, had solemnly protested, that he had neither taken that Paper away, nor knew what was become of it. The Prisoners and Standards taken in the Fight were brought through *London* to *Westmin'*. The Standards were ordered to be hung up in *Westminster-Hall*, and the Prisoners were secur

in the Artillery-Ground near *Tuttle-fields* ; a Committee being appointed to consider how to dispose of them, who permitted those to return home that would give Security for their living peaceably for the future ; but such as did not, which was much the greater Number, were shipped off to serve in Foreign Parts upon Conditions. This Success was astonishing, being obtained by Men of little Experience in Affairs of this nature, and upon that account despised by their Enemies ; yet it proved the deciding Battel, the King's Party after this time never making any considerable Opposition. *Leicester* capitulated two days after, and was surrendered ; and some of our Forces besieged *Chester*, whilst the Scots did the like to *Hereford*. The General Sir *Thomas Fairfax* marched with the Army to relieve our Friends at *Taunton*, where Col. *Welden* was besieged, took *Highworth* in his March, and dissipated the Club-men, defeated *Goring's* Forces at *Lampport*, possessed himself of the Towns of *Bridgwater* and *Bath* by Capitulation, and of *Sherburn-Castle* by storm. *Bristol* also was surrendered after the Outworks and Fort had been taken by Assault, with divers other Successes of less Importance, and therefore unnecessary to be mentioned here. Lieutenant General *Cromwell* being sent to reduce such Garisons as were in the way to *London*, began with the Castle of *Winchester*, which was delivered to him upon Articles ; after which he marched to *Basinghouse*, and erected

a Battery on the East-side of it; by which having made a Breach, he stormed and entered it, putting many of the Garison to the Sword, and taking the rest with the Marquis of *Winchester*, whose House it was, Prisoners. Col. *Robert Hammond* had been before made Prisoner by the *Marquiss*, and was kept here by him in order to secure his own Life, which he did by putting himself under the Colonel's Protection, when ours entred the Place. It was suspected that Col. *Hammond*, being related to the Earl of *Essex*, whose half-Sister was married to the Marquis of *Winchester*, had suffered himself to be taken Prisoner on design to serve the said Marquis. The next Place he attempted was *Langford-house* near *Salisbury*, which was yielded in a day or two upon Articles. The Works about *Basing* were levelled, *Sherborn-Castle* slighted, as also *Falston-house*, of which Major *Ludlow* was Governour, who was removed to undertake the same Charge at *Langford-house*, wherein the Parliament thought fit to keep a Garison by reason of its nearness to the Enemy.

The King, as well to secure himself by getting as far from our Forces as he could, as to raise a new Army if possible, marched with the Horse that he had left towards *North-Wales*, hoping in his way to relieve *Chester* besieged by Sir *William Brereton*, and by his Presence in *Wales* to prevail with them to furnish him with a Body of Foot; but he found himself frustrated

ted in both these Designs; For being worsted near *Routen Heath* by Major General *Pointz*, who commanded a Brigade of the Parliament's in those Parts, he saw the Face of Affairs much altered both in *North* and *South-Wales*: In the last of which, tho he was entertained civilly by some particular Persons, yet the generality of the Country, that during his Successes had subjected themselves even slavishly to his Instruments, now fearing he might draw the Army of the Parliament after him, and make their Country the Seat of War, began to murmur against him, and drew together a numerous Body in the nature of a Club-Army, whispering amongst themselves as if they intended to seize his Person, and deliver him to the Parliament to make their Peace. Which being reported to the King, he thought fit to retire from thence with his Forces, only leaving a small Garrison in the Castle of *Cardiff*, which, together with the County, was soon after reduced to the Obedience of the Parliament by Col. *Pritchard*, where Sir *John Strangwaies* was amongst others taken Prisoner, who by order of the Parliament was sent up to *London*, and committed to the Tower. The Isle of *Anglesey*, and such Places of *North-Wales* as had been held for the King, were surrendred to the Parliament; but *Glamorganshire* and the parts adjacent continued not long in their Duty, but revolted at the Instigation of one Mr. *Kerne* of *Winny*, who pretending great Fidelity to the Parliament,

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was intrusted by them as their Sheriff for that County, and made use of that Authority to raise the County against them, and to besiege Colonel *Pritchard*, and the rest of their Friends in the Castle of *Cardiff*; who being reduced to some necessity, had been probably constrained to surrender it, had not speedy relief been procured from the Parliament under the Conduct of Colonel *Kirle* of *Glostershire*; who falling suddenly upon the Enemy, routed and killed many of them.

The King's Affairs being in this low condition in *England* and *Wales*, he resolved to try what might be done in *Scotland*; in order to which, he commands the Lord *Digby* to march thither with a Party of sixteen hundred Horse, and to join the Marquiss of *Montross* then in Arms for him in that Kingdom. In obedience to the King's Order, the Lord *Digby* marched from *Newark*, and in his way surprized about eight hundred of ours near *Sherborn*; but was afterwards routed by Col. *Copley*, who recovered the Men and Arms taken from ours, killed forty of the Enemy upon the spot, took four hundred of them Prisoners, and about six hundred Horses: The Lord *Digby's* Coach and Papers were also taken. This Party was defeated a second time by Sir *John Brown*, and a third by Col. *Bright*, who took two hundred of them Prisoners; the Lord *Digby* with about twenty more hardly escaping to the Isle of *Man*, and from thence to *Ireland*.

At the approach of Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Army, the Enemy raised the Siege of *Taunton*; from thence the General marched to *Honyton*, and the next day to *Colompton*, from whence the Enemy retired in great disorder. On *October 20.* the Army, tho much weakened by hard Duty and the Rigour of the Season, resolved upon the Blockade of *Exeter*. *Carmarthen* Castle, *Monmouth*, and divers other Places were surrendered to the Parliament; so that the King looking upon the Rebels in *Ireland* as his last Refuge, sends Orders to the Earl of *Ormond* not only to continue the Cessation, but to conclude a Peace with them, upon condition they would oblige themselves to send over an Army to his Assistance against the Parliament of *England*. The Supreme Council of *Ireland*, as they called themselves, having notice of it, invited the Earl of *Ormond* to *Kilkenny* to treat about the same; who being willing to see his Relations and his Estate in those Parts, as also to expedite that Service, accepted their Invitation, and marched thither with about three or 4000 Horse and Foot for his Guard, which by the advice of the Lord *Mountgarret* and the Supreme Council, were dispersed into Quarters in the Villages thereabouts; the Earl of *Ormond* suspecting nothing, having sent Orders to Sir *Francis Willoughby*, who commanded that Party under him, to that purpose: but he being an old and experienced Commander, well acquainted with the Treachery of that Nation,

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and particularly of those of the **Popish Religion**, knowing how easy it would be for the Irish to cut them off in the Quarters assigned them, resolving not to consent to the dispersion of his Men; and therefore desired of the Earl of Ormond, that he might quarter with the Field, or where his Lordship should think proper, desiring if this would not satisfy him, to have Liberty to return home; and to bid him not to trust his Person with them, notwithstanding their fair Words. My Lord upon leaves the Care of quartering his Men to Sir Francis Willoughby; but resolves himself to stay at Kilkenny. Sir Francis draws the Troop into Goran, a Town five Miles from Kilkenny, where he kept his Guards with as much caution as if he had been in an Enemies Country. The Enemy being by this means disappointed of their Design to cut off the Party by surprise, resolved to attempt it by open Force; and in the favour that the Earl of Ormond could get amongst his Relations, was to have none but Thift for himself, which with much difficulty he did send Orders to his Forces to march towards the Place, in which he was very successful, having had advice that the Country was rising upon them; and that the numbers, that if Col. O'Brien had not permitted them to march, they had in a few days been discovered. When they had marched a few Miles, they discovered a

Treachery, as Sir *Francis Willoughby*, who gave
 this account, judged it to be, tho he knew
 on whom to charge it: for they found that
 had not been in a condition to make any
 position, if the Enemy had fallen upon them,
 powder with which they were furnished
 no force in it; which came to be dis-
 upon the trial of a Musquet at a Mark,
 shall report it gave, and the fall of the
 If way from it: Whereupon search-
 er into the matter, they found all
 to be of the same sort. The Irish
 all the Earl of *Ormond's* Plate, and
 he had with him at *Kilkenny*,
 permitting him to save any thing.
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matter, as if *Glamorgan* had in that particular exceeded his Commission, accused him of High Treason, and procured him to be imprison'd by the Earl of *Ormond* : but in Letters intercepted from the Lord *Glamorgan* to his Lady, he desired that she would not entertain any Fears concerning him ; for that he doubted not, if he could be admitted to be heard, that he should be able to justify his Proceeding, to the Confusion of those who had caused his Imprisonment.

The English Officers and Souldiers provoked by the late Treachery of the Irish, and apprehending that without Assistance from *England* they might fall into their Hands, would not be satisfied unless a Message were sent to the Parliament to treat about Conditions for the putting of *Dublin*, and the Protestant Forces of *Ireland*, into their Hands : In order to which the Parliament sent over Commissioners to treat with the Earl of *Ormond* and the Council. But tho the Earl was not willing that any thing should be concluded at that time ; yet Sir *Francis Willoughby* was, as I have heard him say, so far convinced of the Necessity and Duty that lay upon them so to do, that he promised our Commissioners to preserve the Castle of *Dublin*, of which he was then Governour, for the Service of the Parliament, whensoever they should command it.

Montrose having obtained a Victory against those whom the Scots had left to preserve the Peace

Peace of *Scotland*, by the means of which he was become Master of a great part of that Kingdom, *David Lesley* was sent thither from *Hereford* with most of the Scottish Horse, where he defeated the Army of *Montross*, and reduced that Nation to its former Obedience.

After the Surrender of *Bristol* to the Forces of the Parliament, Prince *Rupert* who had been Governour thereof returned to *Oxford*, where he found so cool a Reception from the King by reason of the Loss of that Place, that Col. *Leg* then Governour of *Oxford* was turned out of that Command for being of his Faction; and the Government of that City put into the Hands of Sir *Thomas Glenham*. The Prince was for some time forbidden to wear a Sword; and tho he was soon after restored to that Liberty, yet he was never more intrusted with any Command. The House of Commons finding their Business to increase, and their numbers to diminish by the Death of some, and Desertion of others to the King at *Oxford*, ordered the Commissioners of the Seal to issue out Writs to such Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, as the House by their particular Order should direct, for the Election of Members to serve in Parliament. They ordered also a Jewel to be prepared of the Value of about seven hundred Pounds, to be presented to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; it had the House of Commons represented on one side, and the Battel of *Naseby* on the other: three Members of Parliament were

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deputed to carry the Present to him ; the Opportunity of whose Guard I took to go into the West without disturbance, which was difficult to do at that time, many of the King's Party hovering about the Downs, from whence they were called Col. *Dowds* his Men ; who rendering the Ride unsafe, I procured a Guard of twenty or thirty of the County Horse to accompany me during my stay in those Parts. So small a Number not being sufficient either to defend me, or to make any Attempt, I betook my self to Col. *Masseys* Party, commanded at that time by Col. *Edward Cook*, where I had not been long before an Alarm was given, that a Party of Horse from *Oxford* had marched by, with a design to relieve *Corfe-Castle*, besieged at that time by our Forces : But before we could get our Men together, they had surprized part of ours in *Warham*, and beaten off the Guard between that Place and the Castle, which they relieved with what they could, and were returned back again. In this Action a Brother of my Father's was mortally wounded, taken Prisoner by the Enemy, and died the next day. Col. *Cook* was forced to content himself to reinforce the Besiegers, and to return to his former Station.

The Army commanded by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* having left a strong Party to block up *Exeter*, advanced Westward towards the Enemy ; and at *Bovey Tracy* fought the Brigade commanded by the Lord *Wentworth*, took four hundred

dred Horse, and about a hundred Foot, Prisoners; with six Standards, one of which was the King's. Two Regiments of ours appeared before *Dartmouth*, and summoned it; but the Garrison being numerous, and furnished with all things necessary, refused to surrender: upon which the Army advancing, possessed themselves of their Outworks, and having turned their Cannon upon them, two Forts, distant about a Mile from the Town, wherein were thirty four Pieces of Cannon, and two Ships of War that were in the Harbour, surrendered; which the Governor understanding, capitulated, and delivered the Town upon Articles, being permitted to march off himself; but Sir *Hugh Pollard*, the Earl of *Newport*, Col. *Seymour*, four Colonels, with divers others, were to remain Prisoners: and a French Vessel coming into the Harbour, not knowing what had passed, was seized, and Letters of Consequence found in her from the Queen. The Prince of *Wales*, who to countenance their Affairs had the name of General in the Western Parts, finding their Affairs desperate, shipped himself for *Scilly*, leaving the Command of their Forces to Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who was soon after summoned by General *Fairfax* to lay down his Arms; and after several Messages, four Commissioners on each side met at *Tresilian-Bridge*, and came to an Agreement; the Substance of which was, to deliver up all their Arms, Artillery, and Ammunition, except what was excepted by the

and particularly of those of the Popish Religion, knowing how easy it would be for the Irish to cut them off in the Quarters assigned for them, resolving not to consent to the dispersing of his Men; and therefore desired of the Earl of Ormond, that he might quarter with them in the Field, or where his Lordship should appoint, desiring if this would not satisfy, he might have Liberty to return home; advising him not to trust his Person with them, notwithstanding their fair Words. My Lord hereupon leaves the Care of quartering his Men to Sir Francis Willoughby; but resolves himself to stay at Kilkenny. Sir Francis draws the Troop into Goran, a Town five Miles from Kilkenny, where he kept his Guards with as much Caution as if he had been in an Enemies Country. The Enemy being by this means disappointed of their Design to cut off the Party by surprize, resolved to attempt it by open Force; and all the favour that the Earl of Ormond could get amongst his Relations, was to have notice to shift for himself, which with much difficulty he did, sending Orders to his Forces to march towards Dublin, in which he was very readily obeyed by them, having had advice that the Country was rising upon them; which they did in such numbers, that if Col. Bagnal Governour of Loughlyn had not permitted them to pass the Bridg there, they had in all appearance been cut off. When they had recovered their own Quarters, they discovered a piece of Treachery,

the other: and therefore honest Men in all Parts did what they could to promote the Election of such as were most hearty for the Accomplishment of our Deliverance; judging it to be of the highest Importance so to wind up things, that we might not be over-reach'd by our Enemies in a Treaty, that had not been able to contend with us in open War. To this end I endeavour'd that my Uncle Mr. *Edmund Ludlow* might be chosen for the Borough of *Hinden*, where tho he was elected and returned by the principal Burgeesses and Bailiff, yet the Rabble of the Town, many of whom lived upon the Alms of one Mr. *George How*, pretending that they had chosen the latter, the Sheriff returned them both. By this means Mr. *How* got first into the House; but they being informed of the matter of Fact, commanded him to withdraw till the Cause should be decided by the Committee of Privileges. Shortly after a Writ being issued out for the Election of two Knights to serve for the County of *Wilts*, in the room of my Father, who died in their Service, and of Sir *James Thynne*, who contrary to his Trust had deserted to the King at *Oxford*, the Earl of *Pembroke* sent to me, and acquainted me, that he understood that the Country was inclined to chuse me to serve for one of their Knights in Parliament, desiring me to endeavour that his second Son Mr. *James Herbert* might be chosen for the other, promising that tho he was young, yet he would undertake he should

should vote honestly for the Commonwealth. I inform'd him, that I knew nothing of the Intentions of the County to elect me, but hoped that if they elected his Son, he would make good his Promise. His Son, also entred into the like Engagement for himself. At the Day appointed for the Election, having had several Invitations so to do, I attended according to Custom, and the Words of the Writ, which require the Candidates to be present at the Place of Election. The Earl of *Pembroke's* Friends desired me to consent that his Son might have the first Voice, which I did, tho many of the Country Gentlemen were unwilling to permit it: which done, the County was pleased to confer the Trust upon me without any Opposition. Some who were not present, took it ill that I sent not to them to desire their Company, which I excused, assuring them that I had not sent to any Person, having forborn so to do, not out of any Disrespect to them, or Confidence in my own Interest, but out of a Sense of my own Inability to undertake so great a Charge, as well as out of a Desire to have a clear and unquestionable Right to an Employment of such Importance. When I came to the House of Commons, I met with Col. *Robert Blake*, attending to be admitted, being chosen for *Taunton*; where having taken the usual Oaths, we went into the House together, which I chose to do, assuring my self, he having been faithful and active in the Publick Service abroad, that we should

should be as unanimous in the carrying it on within those Doors.

The Parliament being sensible that the King had corrupted those Forces that they had sent over to suppress the Rebellion in *Ireland*, and that they had no great Assurance of the Lord *Inchequin*, nominated the Lord Viscount *Lisle*, Son to the Earl of *Leicester*, and a Member of the House of Commons, to be Lieutenant for *Ireland*, looking upon him as the most considerable Person of Integrity they could think upon. He procured the Liberty of Col. *Monk*, then Prisoner in the Tower, upon information that he had good Experience in that War, and an Interest in the Souldiers there ; to which Mr. *William Cavley* gave his single Negative. On the 13th of April, 1646. *Exeter* was delivered to ours upon Articles, by which all such as were in the Town and Garrison were admitted to compound for their Estates, paying two Years Value for the same. *Barnstable*, *Dunstar-Castle*, and *Michael's-Mount* in *Cornwall*, were also surrendered : in the last of which Places the Marquis of *Hamilton* was Prisoner by the King's Order, and restored to his Liberty upon the Surrender of it, which Favour he acknowledged to the Members of the House of Commons, attending in Person at their door to that end. The most considerable Body of Men remaining in the Field for the King was commanded by Sir *Jacob Asbley*, who being on his March towards *Oxford*, was attacked by Col. *Morgan* and

and Sir *William Brereton* at *Stow in the Woold*, where, after a sharp Dispute on both sides, Sir *Jacob Asbley's* Forces were entirely defeated, many of them killed and wounded, and himself taken Prisoner. During his Confinement he was heard to say, *That now they had no hopes to prevail but by our Divisions.* Which deserves the more Reflection, because he being well acquainted with the King's Secrets, was not ignorant, that many amongst us, who at the beginning appeared most forward to engage themselves, and to invite others to the War against the King, finding themselves disappointed of those Preferments which they expected, or out of some particular Disgusts taken, had made Conditions with the King not only for their Indemnity, but for Places and Advancements under him; endeavouring by a Treaty, or rather by Treachery, to betray what had cost so much Blood to obtain. These Men, to strengthen their Interest, applied themselves to the Presbyterian Party, who jealous of the Increase of Sectaries, of which the Army was reported chiefly to consist, readily joined with them. By which Conjunction most of the new elected Members were either Men of a neutral Spirit, and willing to have Peace upon any Terms, or such, who tho they had engaged against the King, yet finding things tending to a Composition with him, resolved to have the Benefit of it, and his Favour, tho with the Guilt of all the Blood that had been shed in the War upon
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their Heads, in not requiring Satisfaction for the same, nor endeavouring to prevent the like for the future; designing at the most only to punish some inferiour Instruments, whilst the Capital Offender should not only go free, but his Authority be still acknowledged and adored, and so the Nation more enslaved than ever to a Power, which tho it destroys the People by Thousands, must be accountable to none but God for so doing; whom some Persons as it is apparent by their Usage of Mankind, either think not to be, or not at all superiour to them. Another sort of Men there was amongst us, who having acquired Estates in the Service of the Parliament, now adhered to the King's Party for the preserving of what they had got; who, together with such as had been discharged from their Employments by the reform of the Army, or envied their Success, combined together against the Commonwealth. This Party was encouraged and supported upon all occasions by the Scots and the City of *London*: The first of them tho they began the War, and tho their Assembly of Ministers had declared the King guilty of the Blood of Thousands of his best Subjects, their Covenant engaging them in the preservation of his Person so far only as might consist with the Laws of the Land, and Liberty of the Subject; yet having had many good Opportunities in *England*, and hoping for more, supposing it to be in their Power to awe the King to whatsoever they should

Design blocked up *Farringdon*, *Wallingford*, and *Woodstock*; but before they could form the Siege of *Oxford*, the King escaped from thence on the 27th of *April*, 1646, of which notice being given to the Parliament by Col. *Rainsborough*, who lay before *Woodstock*; they suspecting that he designed to come to *London* to raise a Party against them, published an Ordinance, declaring, That whosoever should harbour or conceal the King's Person, should be proceeded against as a Traitor to the Commonwealth. Within three or four days they received a Message from the Scots Army, informing the Parliament of the King's coming to them, and pretending to be much surprized at it; but it appeared afterwards that this Resolution had been communicated to them before. The King was accompanied in this Expedition by one *Hudson*, and Mr. *Abburnham*, passing as a Servant to the latter. Upon this notice, the House of Commons sent an Order to their Commissioners in the Scots Army to demand the Person of the King, judging it unreasonable, that the Scots Army being in their Pay, should assume the Authority to dispose of the King otherwise than by their Order; resolving further that the King should be conducted to the Castle of *Warwick*, and that those who came out of *Oxford* with him should be brought to *London*. The next day they commanded their Army to advance, in order to hinder the Conjunction of the King's Forces with

with the Scots. The King soon after his Arrival at the Scots Quarters, gave order for the Delivery of *Newark* into their Hands ; which having received, they surrendered to the English, and marched with the King to *Newcastle* ; whereof the House of Commons being informed, and that the Earl of *Leven*, General of the Scots Army, had by Proclamation forbidden his Forces to have any Communication with the King's Party, they desisted from their Resolution of advancing their Army, and of conducting the King to *Warwick*, ordering the Scots to keep him for the Parliament of *England*. Mr. *Albburnham* was permitted by the Scots to make his Escape, but Mr. *Hudson* was brought to *London*, and upon Examination at the Bar of the House of Commons, confessed some things about the King's Journey from *Oxford*. Commissioners being appointed by the Parliament to be sent down to the Scots Army in this Conjunction, they made choice of two Lords, of whom the Earl of *Pembroke* was one, and four of the Commons ; in which number Col. *Brown* the Woodmonger being nominated to that Employment, he turned about to me, who sat behind him in the House, assuring me that he would be ever true to us : And truly I then believed him, having met him at the beginning of the War in *Smithfield* buying Horses for the Service of the Parliament, where he spoke very affectionately concerning their Undertaking, and served them afterwards very successfully,

especially at *Abingdon*, as I mentioned before; but this wretched Man soon discovered the Corruption of his Nature, and Malignity that lay concealed in his Heart: for no sooner had the King found out his ambitious Temper, and cast some slight Favours upon him, giving him a Pair of Silk Stockings with his own Hand, but his low and abject Original and Education became so prevalent in him, as to transform him into an Agent and Spy for the King, proving, as will be hereafter related, one of the bloodiest Butchers of the Parliament's Friends.

The Scots having the King in their Power, pressed him to write to the Earl of *Ormond* his Lieutenant in *Ireland*, and to the Governours and Commanders of Places that remained in Arms for him, to lay down their Arms, and to deliver the said Places to such as the Parliament of *England* should appoint to receive them, acquainting him, that otherwise they could not protect him. Submitting to this Necessity, he sent Orders to that effect, which some obeyed, and others refused to comply with, looking upon him to be under a Force. Amongst those who yielded Obedience to the King's Orders, was *Montross*, who disbanded the Forces he had left, and went beyond Sea. The City of *Oxford* having been blocked up for some time, began to capitulate, lest their farther Obstinacy should prove prejudicial to them, particularly in the matter of Compositions for their Estates, the most considerable of the King's Party being

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there. Commissioners were appointed on both sides to treat, and came to an Agreement on the 22^d of *June*, 1646. upon such Terms as the Parliament were unwilling to confirm; but whilst they were in Debate concerning the Articles, they understood that Prince *Rupert* and others of the King's Party were marched out of the Town in pursuance of them; and that the Garison would be entirely evacuated before they could signify their Pleasure to the Army. Wherefore tho they did not approve the Conditions, yet they thought not fit to do any thing in order to break them. The principal Reason given by the Army of their proceeding so hastily to a Conclusion of the Treaty, was, lest the King should make Terms with the Scots, and bring their Army to the Relief of *Oxford*. *Farringdon-house*, *Wallingford-Castle*, and *Woodstock*, were surrendered to the Parliament; *Worcester* and *Litchfield* soon after, as also *Pendennis* and *Ragland-Castle*.

The Scots by their Commissioners pressed the Parliament to send Propositions of Peace to the King, wherein they were seconded by an insolent Address from the Mayor and Common-Council of the City of *London*; in which after some Acknowledgments of the Care and Courage of the Parliament in the Reformation of the Church, and Preservation of the Laws, they desired of them, that such Assemblies as were privately held to introduce new Sects might be suppressed, lest they should breed

Disturbances in Church and State; that they would hasten the Establishment of Peace in the three Kingdoms; that they would consider the great Services of the Scots, and dismiss those who were distinguished by the name of *Independents* from all Employments Civil and Military, esteeming them to be Firebrands that might endanger the Publick Peace, with other Particulars of the same nature. The Answer of the Parliament to the said Address was not much to the Satisfaction of the Petitioners, being a positive Declaration that they resolved to preserve their Authority entire to themselves. There was a Party in the House of the same Temper with the Addressers, who earnestly endeavoured to break the Army, as the principal Obstacle to their Designs, pretending the necessity of relieving *Ireland*, the Loss of which they said would be infinitely prejudicial to *England*; and that the way to prevent it was to send thither some part of the Army, who being united in Affection, and of great Reputation both for Courage and Conduct, would strike a Terror into the Enemy, and undoubtedly accomplish that important Work; not forgetting to urge that the People of *England* were not able to bear their present Burdens, and therefore must be eased. To these Pretences it was replied, That it could not consist with the Honour or Safety of the Parliament to lessen their Forces, whilst they had an Army of another Nation in their Bowels; who tho they were

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united in the same Cause and Interest with us, yet the best way to continue them so, was to be in such a Posture as might secure us from any fear of their breaking with us ; and that the more Reputation the Army had, the fitter they were to be kept together for that end. After a long Debate, the Question was put ; Whether two Regiments of the Army should be sent to the Relief of *Ireland* ? and it was carried in the Negative by one Voice only.

The Commonwealth-Party taking Advantage of the Arguments used in the House for the Relief of *Ireland*, and Ease of the People of *England*, procured an Order for the disbanding of Col. *Massey's* Brigade, and Money to be sent to the *Devizes* in the County of *Wilts*, where they were ordered to be drawn together for that purpose. Alderman *Allen* and myself, who served for that County, were commissioned to see it put in execution : In order to which we repaired to the Lord General, who lay then at *Cornbury*, and prevailed with him and Commissary General *Ireton*, with two Regiments of Horse, to draw to the *Devizes*, which we found to be very necessary : for tho many of that Brigade were glad of the Opportunity to return home to their several Callings, having taken up Arms, and hazarded their Lives purely to serve the Publick ; yet divers idle and debauched Persons, especially the Foreigners, amongst them, not knowing how to betake themselves to any honest Employment,

endeavoured to stir up the Brigade to a Mutiny ; but not being able to effect that, some of them lifted themselves to serve against the Rebels in *Ireland* under Sir *William Fenton*, and others there present to receive them, for which we had Instructions from the Parliament ; the rest dispersed themselves, and returned home. The Forces also that served in the North under Major General *Pointz* were soon after disbanded.

The City of *London* had made it their Request in the Petition before-mentioned, that some Commissioners from them might accompany those from the Parliament to the King ; but their own Party in the House fearing perhaps to be outbid by them, or it may be not having quite lost all Sense of Honour, rejected that Motion with Contempt, alledging that they had their Representatives in Parliament, and were concluded by what they acted as well as other Men : upon which Mr. *Martin* said, That tho he could not but agree with what had been affirmed touching their being involved in what their Representatives did, and their not sending Commissioners as desired ; yet as to the Substance of what they proposed, he could not so much blame them as others had done, they therein shewing themselves in the end of the War no less prudent than they had expressed themselves honest in the beginning : for as when the Parliament invited them to stand by them in the War against the King, in Defence of
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their Religion, Lives, Liberties and Estates, they did it heartily, and therein shewed themselves good Christians and true English-men; so now the War being ended, and the Parliament upon making Terms with the King, and thinking fit to sue to him, now their Prisoner, for Peace, whom they had all incensed by their Resistance, the Citizens having considerable Estates to lose, shewed themselves prudent Men, in endeavouring to procure their Pardons as well as others: And tho, said he, you will not permit them to send as they desire, they have expressed their good Will, which without doubt will be well accepted. The Commissioners of Parliament joining with those who were before with the King, endeavoured to perswade him to agree to the Propositions of the Parliament; but he disliking several things in them, and most of all the abolition of Episcopacy, to which Interest he continued obstinately steadfast, refused his Consent, upon private Encouragement from some of the Scots and English, to expect more easy Terms, or to be received without any at all. The Parliament willing to bring this Matter to a Conclusion, sent the same Propositions a second time to the King, and desired the Scots to use their utmost Endeavours to procure his Consent to them. The Scots Commissioners, especially the Lord *London*, pressed the King very earnestly to comply with them, telling him, that tho the Propositions were higher in some Particulars than they

could have wished, notwithstanding their Endeavours to bring them as low as they could, according to their Promises ; yet if he continued to reject them, he must not expect to be received in *Scotland*, whither they must return ; and upon his refusal of the Conditions offered, deliver him up to the Parliament of *England*. But whatsoever they or the English could say, making no Impression upon the King, the Parliament's Commissioners returned with a Negative from him.

The Interposition of the Scots in this Affair proving ineffectual, the War being at an end, and such considerable Forces altogether unnecessary, the Parliament appointed Commissioners to confer with those of *Scotland* concerning such things as remained to be performed by the Treaty between them ; that the fraternal Union might continue, and the Scots depart towards their own Country. In order to which the Accounts of their Army were adjusted, and a great Sum of Money agreed to be paid to them at the present, and other Sums upon certain days, to their full Satisfaction. Major General *Skippon*, with a considerable Body of Men, carried down the Money *in specie* for the Payment of the Scots Army ; which being received by them, they delivered the King into the hands of the Parliament's Commissioners that attended him there, and began their March for *Scotland*, having delivered *Newcastle* to the English, and drawn their Men out of *Berwick* and

and *Carlisle*, which two Places were agreed not to be garisoned without the Consent of both Kingdoms.

About this time the Earl of *Essex* having overheated himself in the Chase of a Stag in *Windsor* Forest, departed this Life: His Death was a great Loss to those of his Party who to keep up their Spirits and Credit procured his Funeral to be celebrated with great Magnificence at the Charge of the Publick, the Lords and Commons with a great number of Officers and Gentlemen accompanying him to the Grave. In the mean time I observed that another Party was not idle; for walking one Morning with Lieutenant General *Cromwell* in Sir *Robert Cotton's* Garden, he inveighed bitterly against them, saying in a familiar way to me; *If thy Father were alive, he would let some of them hear what they deserve*: adding farther, *That it was a miserable thing to serve a Parliament, to whom let a Man be never so faithful, if one pragmatical Fellow amongst them rise up and asperse him, he shall never wipe it off. Whereas, said he, when one serves under a General, he may do as much Service, and yet be free from all Blame and Envy.* This Text, together with the Comment that his after-Actions put upon it, hath since perswaded me, that he had already conceived the Design of destroying the Civil Authority, and setting up of himself; and that he took that Opportunity to feel my Pulse, whether I were a fit Instrument to be employed by him to those ends.

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But having replied to his Discourse, that we ought to perform the Duty of our Stations, and trust God with our Honour, Power, and all that is dear to us, not permitting any such Considerations to discourage us from the prosecution of our Duty, I never heard any more from him upon that point.

Whilst the King was at *Newcastle*, the President *de Bellievre* came over into *England* in the Quality of an Ambassador from the French King, with Orders to endeavour a Reconciliation between the King and the Parliament. He had a favourable Audience from the Two Houses, and their Permission to apply himself to the King; but being on his way towards him, upon farther Debate, they judged it not fit to subject that Affair to the Cognizance of any Foreign Prince, resolving to determine it themselves without the Interposition of any, having experienced, that most of the neighbouring States, especially the Monarchical, were at the bottom their Enemies, and their Ambassadors and Residents so many Spies upon them, as appeared more particularly by Letters taken in the King's Cabinet after the Battel of *Naseby*, which discovered that the Emperor's Resident in *London* held a private Correspondence with the King, and there was ground to believe that the Ambassador of *Portugal* did the like, from Letters therein found from that King. These Applications to the King, together with the Permission granted by the Parliament to the
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Turky Company, to address themselves to him, for the commissionating of one whom they had nominated to be their Agent with the Grand Signior, under pretence that he would not otherwise be received: To which may be added the frequent Overtures of Peace made by the Parliament to the King, tho he had not a Sword, left wherewith to oppose them; and the great Expectations of the People of his Return to the Parliament, being informed that the Heads of the Presbyterian Party had promised the Scots, upon the Delivery of the King, that as soon as they had disbanded the Army, they would bring him to *London* in Honour and Safety: these things, I say, made the People ready to conclude, that tho his Design had been wonderfully defeated, his Armies beaten out of the Field, and himself delivered into the Hands of the Parliament, against whom he had made a long and bloody War, yet certainly he must be in the right; and that tho he was guilty of the Blood of many thousands, yet was still unaccountable, in a condition to give Pardon, and not in need of receiving any: which made them flock from all Parts to see him as he was brought from *Newcastle* to *Holmby*, falling down before him, bringing their Sick to be touched by him, and courting him as only able to restore to them their Peace and Settlement.

The Party in the House that were betraying the Cause of their Country, became Encouragers of such Petitioners as came to them from
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the City of *London*, and other Places, to that effect ; very many of whom had been always for the King's Interest, but their Estates lying in the Parliament's Quarters, they secured them by their Presence in the House, and at the same time promoted his Designs by their Votes. There was another sort of Men who were contented to sacrifice all Civil Liberties to the Ambition of the Presbyterian Clergy, and to vest them with a Power as great or greater than that which had been declared intolerable in the Bishops before. To this end they encouraged the reduced Officers of the Earl of *Essex*, such as *Massey*, *Waller*, *Pointz*, and others, to press the Parliament for their Arrears in a peremptory and seditious manner, that being furnished with Money they might be enabled to stand by these their Patrons in whatsoever Design they had to carry on. And the better to facilitate the disbanding of the Army, which they so much desired, they resolved to draw off a considerable part of them for the Service of *Ireland*; and to render the Work more acceptable, voted Major General *Skippon* to command them ; joining the Earl of *Warwick* and Sir *William Waller* in Commission with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, to draw out such Forces as were willing to go, to continue such as should be thought necessary for the Security of this Nation, and to disband the rest. The Army being well informed of the Design, begun to consult how to prevent it ; and tho many of the Officers were prevailed with to
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engage by Advancements to higher Commands, yet the major part absolutely refused. The Commissioners of the Parliament having done what they could in prosecution of their Instructions, ordered those who had engaged in the Irish Service to draw off from the Army, which then lay at *Saffron Walden*, and about *Newmarket*, and to be quartered in the way to *Ireland*; which done, they returned to *London* with an Account of their Proceedings.

The Parliament being informed of what passed, were highly displeased with the Carriage of the Army; but the Prudence and Moderation of Major General *Skippon*, in his Report of that Matter to the House, much abated the heat of their Resentment: Yet some menacing Expressions falling from some of them, Lieutenant General *Cromwell* took the occasion to whisper me in the Ear, saying, *These Men will never leave till the Army pull them out by the Ears*: Which Expression I should have resented, if the state of our Affairs would have permitted. In this Conjunction five Regiments of Horse chose their Agitators, who agreed upon a Petition to the Parliament, to desire of them to proceed to settle the Affairs of the Kingdom, to provide for the Arrears of the Army, and to declare that they would not disband any of them till these things were done; deputing *William Allen*, afterwards known by the addition of Adjutant General, *Edward Sexby*, afterwards Col. *Sexby*, and one *Philips*, to present

present it, which they did accordingly at the Bar of the House of Commons. After the reading of the Petition, some of the Members moved that the Messengers might be committed to the Tower, and the Petition declared seditious; but the House after a long Debate satisfied themselves to declare, That it did not belong to the Souldiery to meddle with Civil Affairs, nor to prepare or present any Petition to the Parliament without the Advice and Consent of their General, to whom they ordered a Letter to be sent to desire for the future his Care therein; with which acquainting the three Agents, and requiring their Conformity thereunto, they dismissed them. But this not satisfying, another Petition was carried on throughout the Army much to the same effect, only they observed the Order of the Parliament in directing it to their General, desiring him to present it. The House having notice of this Combination against them from Col. *Edward Harley*, one of their Members, who had a Regiment in the Army, expressed themselves highly dissatisfied therewith, and some of them moved that the Petitioners might be declared Traitors, alledging that they were Servants, who ought to obey, not capitulate. Others were not wanting, who resolved the securing of Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, suspecting that he had under-hand given countenance to this Design; but he being advertised of it, went that Afternoon towards the Army, so that they missed of him, and
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were not willing to shew their Teeth since they could do no more. The Debate continued till late in the Night, and the Sense of the House was, that they should be required to forbear the prosecution of the said Petition ; but when the House, wearied with long sitting, was grown thin, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, taking that opportunity, drew up a Resolution upon his Knee, declaring the Petition to be seditious, and those Traitors who should endeavour to promote it after such a day, and promising Pardon to all that were concerned therein, if they should desist by the time limited. Some of us fearing the Consequence of these Divisions, expressed our Dissatisfaction to it, and went out ; which gave them occasion to pass two or three very sharp Votes against the Proceedings of the Army. The Agitators of the Army sensible of their Condition, and knowing that they must fall under the Mercy of the Parliament, unless they could secure themselves from their Power by prosecuting what they had begun ; and fearing that those who had shewed themselves so forward to close with the King, out of Principle, upon any Terms, would now for their own Preservation receive him without any, or rather put themselves under his Protection, that they might the better subdue the Army, and reduce them to Obedience by Force, sent a Party of Horse under the Command of Cornet *Joyce*, on the 4th of June, 1647. with an Order in Writing to take the King out of the Hands

Hands of the Commissioners of Parliament. The Cornet having placed Guards about *Holmby-house*, sent to acquaint the King with the occasion of his Coming, and was admitted into his Bed-chamber, where upon Promise that the King should be used civilly, and have his Servants and other Conveniences continued to him, he obtained his Consent to go with him. But whilst Cornet *Joyce* was giving Orders concerning the King's Removal, the Parliament's Commissioners took that occasion to discourse with the King, and perswaded him to alter his Resolution: which *Joyce* perceiving at his Return, put the King in mind of his Promise, acquainting him, that he was obliged to execute his Orders; whereupon the King told him, that since he had passed his Word, he would go with him; and to that end descended the Stairs to take Horse, the Commissioners of the Parliament being with him, Col. *Brown* and Mr. *Crew*, who were two of them, publicly declared, that the King was forced out of their hands; and so returned, with an account of what had been done, to the Parliament.

The King's Officers who waited on him were continued; and the chief Officers of the Army began publicly to own the Design, pretending thereby to keep the private Souldiers, for they would no longer be called Common Souldiers, from running into greater Extravagancies and Disorders. Col. *Francis Russell* and others, attending on the King, became soon converted by
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the Splendor of his Majesty; and Sir *Robert Pye*, a Colonel in the Army, supplied the Place of a Querry, riding bare before him when he rode abroad: so that the King began to promise to himself that his Condition was altered for the better, and to look upon the Independent Interest as more consisting with Episcopacy than the Presbyterian, for that it could subsist under any Form, which the other could not do, and therefore largely promised Liberty to the Independent Party, being fully perswaded how naturally his Power would revive upon his Restitution to the Throne, and how easy it would be for him to break through all such Promises and Engagements upon pretence that he was under a Force. The principal Officers of the Army made it so much their business to get the good Opinion of the King, that *Whalley* being sent from them with Orders to use all means but Constraint to cause him to return to *Holmby*; and the King refusing, *Whalley* was contented to bring him to the Army. Yet in the mean time a Charge of High Treason was drawn up by the Army against eleven Members of the House of Commons, who were *Mr. Denzil Hollis*, *Sir Philip Staplyton*, *Sir John Clotworthy*, *Serjeant Glyn*, *Mr. Anthony Nicholls*, *Mr. Walter Long*, *Sir William Lewis*, *Col. Edward Harley*, *Commissary Copley*, *Col. Massey*, and *Sir John Maynard*, for betraying the Cause of the Parliament, endeavouring to break and destroy the Army, with other Particulars.

This Charge they accompanied with a Declaration, shewing the Reasons of what they had done, affirming that they were obliged by their Duty so to do, as they tendred the preservation of the Publick Cause, and securing the good People of *England* from being a Prey to their Enemies. The great end of this Charge of Treason being rather to keep these Members from using their Power with the Parliament in opposition to the Proceedings of the Army, than from any Design to proceed capitally against them, they resolved rather to withdraw themselves voluntarily, than to put the Parliament or Army to any farther Trouble, or their Persons to any more Hazard. By these means the Army, in which there were too many who had no other Design but the Advancement of themselves, having made the Parliament, the Scots, and the City of *London* their Enemies, thought it convenient to enlarge their Concessions to the King, giving his Chaplains leave to come to him, and to officiate in their way, which had been denied before. Whilst this Design was on foot, I went down to their Quarters at *Maidenhead*, to visit the Officers; where Commissiary General *Ireton* suspecting that these things might occasion Jealousies of them in me and others of their Friends in Parliament, desired me to be assured of their steadfast Adherence to the Publick Interest, and that they intended only to dispense with such things as were not material, in order to quiet the rest

less Spirits of the Cavaliers, till they could put themselves into a condition of serving the People effectually. I could not approve of their Practices; but many of the chief of them proceeding in the way they had begun, gave out, *that the Intentions of the Officers and Souldiers in the Army, were to establish his Majesty in his just Rights.* The News of this being brought to the Queen and Prince of *Wales*, who were in *France*, they dispatched Sir *Edward Ford*, Brother-in-law to Commissary General *Ireton*, into *England*, to sound the Designs of the Army, and to promote an Agreement between the King and them. Soon after which Mr. *John Denham* was sent over on the like Errand. Sir *John Barkley* also upon his Return to the Queen from *Holland*, where he had been ordered to condole the Death of the Prince of *Orange*, came into *England* by the same Order, and to the same Purpose. It was in his Instructions to endeavour to procure a Pass for Mr. *John Ashburnham*, to come over and assist him in his Negotiation; which, with many other Particulars relating to this Business, I have seen in a Manuscript written by Sir *John Barkley* himself, and left in the Hands of a Merchant at *Geneva*. Being at *Diepe* in order to embark for *England*, he met with Mr. *William Leg*, who was of the Bed-chamber to the King; and they two came over together into *England*. They landed at *Hastings*, and being on their way towards *London*, were met by Sir *Allen Appesley*, who had

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been Lieutenant Governour to Sir *John Barkley* at *Exeter*, by whom he understood that he was sent to him from *Cromwell* and some other Officers of the Army, with Letters and a Cypher, as also particular Instructions to desire Sir *John Barkley* to remember his own Discourse at a Conference with Col. *Lambert* and other Officers upon the Surrender of *Exeter*, wherein he had taken notice of the bitter Invectives of those of the Army against the King's Person; and presuming that such Discourses were encouraged in order to prepare Mens Minds to receive an Altaration of the Government, had said, that it was not only a most wicked but difficult Undertaking, if not impossible, for a few Men, not of the greatest Quality, to introduce a Popular Government against the King, the Presbyterians, the Nobility, Gentry, and the Genius of the Nation, accustomed for so many Ages to a Monarchical Government; advising, that since the Presbyterians, who had begun the War upon divers specious Pretences, were discovered to have sought their own Advantages, by which means they had lost almost all their Power and Credit; the Independent Party, who had no particular Obligations to the Crown, as many of the Presbyterians had, would make good what the Presbytery had only pretended to, and restore the King and People to their just and antient Rights; to which they were obliged both by Prudence and Interest, there being no means under Heaven

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more likely to establish themselves, and to obtain as much Trust and Power as Subjects are capable of: whereas if they aim'd at more, it would be accompanied with a general Hatred, and their own Destruction. He had Orders also to let him know, that tho' to this Discourse of his they then gave only the hearing, yet they had since found by Experience, that all, or the most part of it was reasonable, and that they were resolved to act accordingly, as might be perceived by what had already passed: desiring that he would present them humbly to the Queen and Prince, and be a Suitor to them in their Names, not to condemn them absolutely, but to suspend their Opinions of them, and their Intentions, till their future Behaviour had made full Proof of their Innocence, whereof they had already given some Testimonies to the World; and that when he had done this Office, he would return to *England*, and be an Eyewitness of their Proceedings. Thus did the Army-Party endeavour to fortify their Interest against the Presbyterians, who tho' they were very much weakned by the Absence of the eleven Members, yet not to be altogether wanting to themselves, passed a Vote, that the King should be brought to *Richmond*, whither he was inclined to go, having conceived a Distrust of the Army, grounded chiefly upon the Refusal of the Officers to receive any Honours or Advantages from him; and would not be dissuaded from this Resolution, till the Army had

obliged the Parliament to recal their Vote. After which he insisted upon going to *Windsor*, much against the Sense of the Army, and could not be prevailed with to pass by the Army in his way thither. This caused them to suspect that he hearkned to some secret Propositions from the Presbyterians, and designed to make an absolute Breach between the Parliament and the Army, which Commissary-General *Ireton* discerning, said these Words to him; *Sir, you have an Intention to be Arbitrator between the Parliament and us, and we mean to be so between You and the Parliament.* But the King finding himself courted on all hands, became so confident of his own Interest, as to think himself able to turn the Scale to what side soever he pleased. In this Temper Sir *John Barkley* found him when he delivered the Queen's Letters to him, which he did, after leave obtained from *Cromwell*, and a Confirmation received from his own Mouth of what had been communicated before to him by Sir *Allen Apsley*, with this Addition, that he thought no Man could enjoy his Life and Estate quietly, unless the King had his Rights, which he said they had already declared to the World in general Terms, and would more particularly very speedily, wherein they would comprize the several Interests of the Royalists, Presbyterians, and Independents, as far as they were consistent with one another. Sir *John Barkley* endeavoured to perswade the King, that it was necessary
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for him, who was now in the Power of the Army, to dissemble with them, and proposed that Mr. *Peters* might preach before him, that he would converse freely with others of the Army, and gain the good Opinion of the Agitators, whose Interest he perceived to be very great amongst them. But this Advice made no Impression upon the King. He gave him also a relation of what had formerly passed between himself and *Cromwell*, whom he met near *Causum*, when the Head-quarters were at *Reading*, where *Cromwell* told him, that he had lately seen the tenderest Sight that ever his Eyes beheld, which was the Interview between the King and his Children; that he wept plentifully at the Remembrance thereof, saying, that never Man was so abused as he in his sinister Opinion of the King, who, he thought, was the most upright and conscientious of his Kingdom: that they of the Independent Party had infinite Obligations to him, for not consenting to the Propositions sent to him at *Newcastle*, which would have totally ruined them, and which his Majesty's Interest seemed to invite him to; concluding with this Wish, *that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the Sincerity of his Heart towards the King*. With this relation the King was no more moved than with the rest, firmly believing such Expressions to proceed from a necessity that *Cromwell* and the Army had of him, without whom, he said, they could do nothing. And indeed the King

was not without reason of that Opinion ; for some of the principal Agitators, with whom Sir *John Barkley* conversed at *Reading* , expressing to him their Jealousy that *Cromwell* was not sincere for the King, desired of him, that if he found him false, to acquaint them with it, promising that they would endeavour to set him right, either with or against his Will. Major *Huntington*, a Creature of *Cromwell*, and therefore entrusted by him to command the Guard about the King, either believing him to be in earnest in his Pretensions, to serve the King, or else finding the King's Affairs in a rising Condition, became one of his Confidants, and by Order of the King brought two General Officers to Sir *John Barkley*, recommending them to him as Persons upon whom he might rely : these two had frequent Conferences with Sir *John Barkley*, and assured him, that a Conjunction with the King was universally desired by the Officers and Agitators, and that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were great Dissemblers if they were not real in it ; but that the Army was so bent upon it at present, that they durst not shew themselves otherwise ; protesting that however things might happen to change, and whatsoever others might do, they would for ever continue faithful to the King. They acquainted him also, that Proposals were drawn up by *Ireton*, wherein Episcopacy was not required to be abolished, nor any of the King's Party wholly ruined, nor the Militia to be taken
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away from the Crown ; advising that the King would with all Expedition agree to them, there being no Assurance of the Army, which they had observed already to have changed more than once. To this end they brought him to Commissiary General *Ireton*, with whom he continued all Night debating upon the Proposals before-mentioned, altering two of the Articles, as he saith himself in the Manuscript, in the most material Points ; but upon his endeavouring to alter a third, touching the Exclusion of seven Persons, not mentioned in the Papers, from Pardon, and the admission of the King's Party to sit in the next Parliament, *Ireton* told him, that there must be a Distinction made between the Conquerors and those that had been beaten, and that he himself should be afraid of a Parliament where the King's Party had the major Vote : In Conclusion, conjuring Sir *John Barkley*, as he tendred the King's Welfare, to endeavour to procure his Consent to the Proposals, that they might with more Confidence be offered to the Parliament, and all Differences accommodated. *Cromwell* appeared in all his Conferences with Sir *John Barkley* most zealous for a speedy Agreement with the King, insomuch that he sometimes complained of his Son *Ireton's* Slowness in perfecting the Proposals, and his Unwillingness to come up to his Majesty's Sense : at other times he would wish that Sir *John Barkley* would act more frankly, and not tie himself up by narrow Principles ;

ciples ; always affirming, that he doubted the Army would not persist in their good Intentions towards the King.

During these Transactions the Army marched from about *Reading* to *Bedford*, and the King with his usual Guard to *Woburn*, a House belonging to the Earl of *Bedford*, where the Proposals of the Army were brought to him to peruse before they were offered to him in publick. He was much displeased with them in general, saying, That if they had any Intention to come to an Accommodation, they would not impose such Conditions on him : To which Sir *John Barkley*, who brought them to him, answered, That he should rather suspect they designed to abuse him, if they had demanded less, there being no appearance that Men, who had through so many Dangers and Difficulties acquired such Advantages, would content themselves with less than was contained in the said Proposals ; and that a Crown so near lost was never recovered so easily as this would be, if things were adjusted upon these Terms. But the King being of another Opinion, replied that they could not subsist without him, and that therefore he did not doubt to find them shortly willing to condescend farther, making his chief Objections against the three following Points : 1. The Exclusion of seven Persons from Pardon. 2. The incapacitating any of his Party from being elected Members of the next ensuing Parliament. 3, That there
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was nothing mentioned concerning Church-Government. To the first it was answered, That when the King and the Army were agreed, it would not be impossible to make them remit in that point; but if that could not be obtained, yet when the King was restored to his Power he might easily supply seven Persons living beyond the Seas in such a manner as to make their Banishment supportable. To the second, That the next Parliament would be necessitated to lay great Burdens upon the People, and that it would be a Happiness to the King's Party to have no hand therein. To the third, That the Law was Security enough for the Church, and that it was a great point gained, to reduce Men who had fought against it, to be wholly silent in the matter. But the King breaking away from them, said, *Well, I shall see them glad e're long to accept of more equal Terms.*

About this time Mr. *Albburnham* arrived, to the King's great Contentment, and his Instructions referring to Sir *John Barkley's*, which they were to prosecute jointly, Sir *John* gave him what light he could into the state of Affairs: but he soon departed from the Methods proposed by Sir *John Barkley*, and entirely complying with the King's Humour, declared openly, that having always used the best Company, he could not converse with such senseless Fellows as the Agitators; that if the Officers could be gained, there was no doubt but they would be

be able to command their own Army, and that he was resolved to apply himself wholly to them. Upon this there grew a great Familiarity between him and *Whalley*, who commanded the Guard that waited on the King, and not long after a close Correspondence with *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, Messages daily passing from the King to the Head-quarters. With these Encouragements and others from the Presbyterian Party, the Lord *Lauderdale* and divers of the City of *London* assuring the King, that they would oppose the Army to the Death, he seemed so much elevated, that when the Proposals were sent to him, and his Concurrence humbly desired, he, to the great Astonishment not only of *Ireton* and the Army, but even of his own Party, entertained them with very sharp and bitter Language, saying, That no Man should suffer for his sake; and that he repented him of nothing so much as that he passed the Bill against the Earl of *Strafford*: which tho it must be confessed to have been an unworthy Act in him, all things considered, yet was it no less imprudent in that manner, and at that time, to mention it; and that he would have the Church established according to Law by the Proposals. To which those of the Army replied, that it was not their Work to do it, and that they thought it sufficient for them to wave the point; and they hoped for the King too, he having already consented to the abolition of the Episcopal Government in *Scotland*.

land. The King said, that he hoped God had forgiven him that Sin, repeating frequently these or the like words; *You cannot be without me; You will fall to Ruin if I do not sustain you.* This manner of Carriage from the King being observed with the utmost Amazement by many Officers of the Army who were present, and at least in appearance were Promoters of the Agreement, Sir *John Barkely* taking notice of it, looked with much wonder upon the King, and stepping to him, said in his Ear, *Sir, you speak as if you had some secret Strength and Power which I do not know of; and since you have concealed it from me, I wish you had done it from these Men also.* Whereupon the King began to recollect himself, and to soften his former Discourse; but it was too late, for Col. *Rainsborough*, who of all the Army seemed the least to desire an Agreement, having observed these Passages, went out from the Conference, and hastned to the Army, informing them what Entertainment their Commissioners and Proposals had found with the King. Sir *John Barkley* being desirous to allay this heat, demanded of *Ireton* and the rest of the Officers what they would do if the King should consent: By whom it was answered, that they would offer them to the Parliament for their Approbation. The King having thus bid defiance to the Army, thought it necessary to bend all his Force against them, and especially to strengthen their Enemies in the Parliament. To this end a Petition was

was contrived to press them to a speedy Agreement with the King, and presented in a most tumultuous manner by great numbers of Apprentices and Rabble, back'd and encouraged by many dismissed and disaffected Officers who joined with them. Whilst the Two Houses were in Debate what Answer to give to this insolent Multitude, some of them getting to the Windows of the House of Lords, threw Stones in upon them, and threatened them with worse Usage; unless they gave them an Answer to their liking: Others knocked at the door of the House of Commons, requiring to be admitted; but some of us with our Swords forced them to retire for the present; and the House resolved to rise without giving any Answer, judging it below them to do any thing by compulsion. Whereupon the Speaker went out of the House, but being in the Lobby, was forced back into the Chair by the Violence of the insolent Rabble; whereof above a thousand attended without doors, and about forty or fifty were got into the House. So that it was thought convenient to give way to their Rage, and the Speaker demanding what Question they desired to be put, they answered, That the King should be desired to come to *London* forthwith: which Question being put, they were asked again what further they would have; they said, That he should be invited to come with Honour, Freedom and Safety: to both which I gave a loud Negative, and some of the Members as
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loud an Affirmative, rather out of a prudential Compliance than any Affection to the Design on foot. By these Votes, and the coming down of divers well-affected Citizens to appease them, the Tumult was somewhat allayed, and the Members of Parliament with their Speaker passed through the Multitude safely. The next Morning I advised with Sir *Arthur Haslerig* and others, what was fittest to be done in this Conjunction; and it was concluded, that we could not sit in Parliament, without apparent Hazard of our Lives, till we had a Guard for our Defence, it being manifestly the Design of the other Party either to drive us away, or to destroy us. Therefore we resolved to betake our selves to the Army for Protection, Sir *Arthur Haslerig* undertaking to perswade the Speaker to go thither, to which he consented with some Difficulty; and having caused a thousand Pound to be thrown into his Coach, went down to the Army, which lay then at *Windfor, Maidenhead, Colebrook*, and the adjacent Places. Having acquainted as many of our Friends as I could, with our Resolution to repair to the Army, I went down; and the next day being the same to which the Parliament had adjourned themselves, the Army rendezvoused upon *Hounslow-beath*, where those Members of Parliament, as well Lords as Commons, who could not with Safety stay at *Westminster*, appeared in the Head of them, at which the Army expressed great Joy, declaring them-

themselves resolved to live and die with them. At night the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Wharton*, and other Lords; the Speaker and Members of the House of Commons afore said, with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and many principal Officers of the Army, met at *Sion-house* to consult what was most advisable to do in that Juncture; which whilst they were doing, an Account was brought of the Proceedings of those at *Westminster* that day, by the Serjeant of the House, who came with his Mace, to the no little Satisfaction of the Speaker. He acquainted them, that the remaining Members being met in the House of Commons, had for some time attended the coming of their Speaker; but being informed that he was gone to the Army, they had made choice of one Mr. *Pelham* a Lawyer, and Member of the House, to be their Speaker: After which they had appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons to join with the Directors of the Militia of *London*; in order to raise Forces for the Defence of the Parliament; the Success of which Attempt they desired to see before they would declare against the Army. To this end *Masse*y, *Pointz*, *Brown*, and Sir *William Waller*, encouraged by the Common Council, and others, who by various Artifices had been corrupted, used all possible Diligence to list Men, and prepare a Force to oppose the Army; but their Proceedings therein were much obstructed by divers honest Citizens, who

who importunately solicited them to treat with the Army, and also by the News of the General Rendezvous upon *Hounslow-heath*.

Tho the Lords had been removed from the Command of the Army, yet it was manifest that their Influence there still continued; partly from a desire of some great Officers to oblige them, and partly from the Ambition of others to be of their Number, who to shew their earnest Desires to serve the King, being morally assured the Parliament and City were likely to be shortly in the Power of the Army, who might be induced to take other Counsels in relation to the King, upon such success, especially considering his late Carriage towards them; they sent an Express to Sir *John Barkley* and Mr. *Ashburnham*, advising, that since the King would not yield to their Proposals, that he would send a kind Letter to the Army, before it were known that *London* would submit. Whereupon a Letter was prepared immediately; but the King would not sign it, till after three or four Debates, which lost one whole day's time: At last Mr. *Ashburnham* and Sir *John Barkley* going with it, met with Messengers from the Officers to hasten it. But before they could come to *Sion-house* the Commissioners from *London* were arrived, and the Letter out of season. For coming after it was known with what Difficulty it had been obtained, and that Matters were like to be adjusted between the Parliament and Army, it lost both its Grace and Efficacy. Notwithstanding all which,

the Officers being resolved to do what they could, proposed, whilst the Army was in the very Act of giving Thanks for their Success, that they should not be too much elevated therewith, but kept still to their former Engagement to the King, and once more solemnly vote the Proposals, which was done accordingly.

The face of Affairs in the City was at this time very various, according to the different Advices they received; for upon the Report of the Advance of the Army, and the taking of some of their Scouts, they cried out, *Treat, Treat*: And at another time being informed that Men lifted in great numbers, the word was, *Live and die, Live and die*: but when *Southwark* had let in part of the Army, and joined with them, they returned to the former Cry of *Treat, Treat*: to which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council consenting, were ready to admit the Army as Friends, being not able to oppose them as Enemies, and afterwards to attend those Members who had retired to the Army, being in all about a hundred, to the Parliament. Having resumed our Places in the House, as many of the eleven Members as had returned to act, immediately withdrew; and *Pointz* with other reduced Officers, who had endeavoured to form a Body against the Army, fled. But we had other Difficulties to encounter: for tho that Vote by which the Petition of the Army was declared seditious, and those guilty of Treason, who should

should prosecute the same after such a day, was razed out of the Journal; yet by reason that the bulk of the opposite Party was left still in the House, the Militia of *London* could not be changed without much Difficulty, and some other Votes of great Consequence could not be altered at all. However the Parliament appointed a Committee to inquire into the late Force that was put upon them; who having made their Report, Sir *John Maynard* was impeached, and Recorder *Glyn*, with Mr. *Clement Walker* and others, imprisoned.

A day or two after the Restitution of the Parliament, the Army marched through the City without offering the least Violence, promising to shew themselves faithful to the Publick Interest; but their Actions furnished occasion to suspect them, particularly their discountenancing the Adjutors, who had endured the Heat of the day: the free Access of all Cavaliers to the King at *Hampton-Court*, and the publick Speeches made for the King by the great Officers of the Army in a Council of War held at *Putney*, some of that Party taking the same liberty in the House of Commons, where one of them publicly said, That he thought God had hitherto blasted our Counsels, because we had dealt so severely with the Cavaliers. These things caused many in the Army who thought themselves abused and cheated, to complain to the Council of Adjutors, against the Intimacy of Sir *John Barkley* and

Mr. *Asburnham* with the chief Officers of the Army, affirming that the doors of *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were open to them when they were shut to those of the Army. *Cromwell* was much offended with these Discourses, and acquainted the King's Party with them, telling Mr. *Asburnham* and Sir *John Barkley*, that if he were an honest Man, he had said enough of the Sincerity of his Intentions; and if he were not, that nothing was enough; and therefore conjured them, as they tendered the King's Service, not to come so frequently to his Quarters, but to send privately to him, the Suspicion of him being grown so great, that he was afraid to lie in them himself. This had no effect upon Mr. *Asburnham*, who said, that he must shew them the necessity of complying with the King, from their own Disorders. About three Weeks after the Army entred *London*, the Scots prevailed with the Parliament to address themselves again to the King, which was performed in the old Propositions of *Newcastle*, some Particulars relating to the Scots only excepted. The King advising with some about him concerning this Matter, it was concluded to be unsafe for him to close with the Enemies of the Army whilst he was in it. Whereupon the King refused the Articles, and desired a Personal Treaty. The Officers of the Army having seen his Answer before it was sent, seemed much satisfied with it, and promised to use their utmost Endeavours to procure a Personal Treaty

Cromwell, Ireton, and many of their Party in the House pressing the King's Desires with great Earnestness; wherein, contrary to their Expectations, they found a vigorous Opposition from such as had already conceived a Jealousy of their private Agreement with the King, and were now confirmed in that Opinion; and the Suspicions of them grew to be so strong, that they were accounted Betrayers of the Cause, and lost almost all their Friends in the Parliament. The Army that lay then about *Putney* were no less dissatisfied with their Conduct, of which they were daily informed by those that came to them from *London*; so that the Adjutors began to change their Discourse, and to complain openly in Council, both of the King and the Malignants about him, saying, that since the King had rejected their Proposals, they were not engaged any further to him, and that they were now to consult their own Safety and the Publick Good: that having the Power devolved upon them by the Decision of the Sword, to which both Parties had appealed, and being convinced that Monarchy was inconsistent with the Prosperity of the Nation, they resolved to use their Endeavours to reduce the Government of *England* to the Form of a Commonwealth. These Proceedings strook so great a Terror into *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, that they thought it necessary to draw the Army to a general Rendezvous, pretending to engage them to adhere to their former Proposals to the

King ; but indeed to bring the Army into subjection to them and their Party, that so they might make their bargain by them ; designing, if they could carry this point at the Rendezvous, to dismiss the Council of Adjutators, to divide the Army, and to send those to the most remote Places who were most opposite to them, retaining near them such only as were fit for their purpose. This Design being discovered by the Adjutators, amongst whom Col. *Rainsborough* had the principal Interest, they used all possible Industry to prevent the general Muster which was appointed to be at *Ware* ; supposing the Separation thereupon intended to be contrary to the Agreement made upon taking the King out of the hands of the Parliament, and destructive to the Ends which they thought it their Duty to promote.

In the mean time *Cromwell* having acquainted the King with his Danger, protesting to him, that it was not in his Power to undertake for his Security in the Place where he was, assuring him of his real Service, and desiring the Lord to deal with him and his according to the Sincerity of his Heart towards the King, prepared himself to act his part at the General Rendezvous. The King being doubtful what to do in this Conjunction, was advised by some to go privately to *London*, and appear in the House of Lords ; to which it was answered, That the Army being Masters of the City and Parliament, would undoubtedly seize the King there ;
and

and if there should be any Blood shed in his Defence, he would be accused of beginning a new War. Others counselled him to secure his Person by quitting the Kingdom. Against which the King objected, that the Rendezvous being appointed for the next Week, he was not willing to quit the Army till that was passed; because if the superiour Officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their Engagement; if not, they must apply themselves to him for their own Security. The Scots Commissioners also who had been long tampering with him, took hold of this Opportunity to perswade him to come to their Terms, by augmenting his Fears as much as they could. It was also proposed, that he should conceal himself in *England*; but that was thought unsafe, if not impossible. Some there were who proposed his going to *Jersey*, which was then kept for him; but the King being told by the Earle of *Lanerick*, that the Ships provided by *Sir John Barkley* for that purpose had been discovered and seized, tho *Sir John* affirms in his Papers that none were provided, that Design was laid aside. At last the King resolved to go to the *Ile of Wight*, being, as is most probable, recommended thither by *Cromwell*, who, as well as the King, had a good Opinion of *Col. Hammond* the Governour there. To this end the King sent *Mr. William Leg* to *Sir John Barkley* and *Mr. Astburnham*, requiring them to assist him in his Escape; and Horses were laid at *Sar-*

ton in *Hampshire* to that purpose. On the day following *Sir John Barkley* and *Mr. Ashburnham* waiting with Horses, the King with *Mr. Leg* came out towards the Evening; and being mounted they designed to ride through the Forest, having the King for their Guide; but they lost the way; so that the Night proving dark and stormy; and the Ways very bad, they could not reach *Sutton* before break of day, tho they hoped to have been there three hours before. At *Sutton* they were informed that a Committee of the County was there sitting by Order of the Parliament; which when the King heard, he passed by that Place, and continued his way towards *Southampton*, attended only by *Mr. Leg*, and went to a House of the Earl of *Southampton* at *Titchfield*, having sent *Sir John Barkley* and *Mr. Ashburnham* to *Col. Hammond*, Governour of the *Ile of Wight*, with a Copy of the Letter left upon the Table in his Chamber at *Hampton-Court*, and two other Letters which he had lately received, one of them without a Name, expressing great Fears and Apprehensions of the ill Intentions of the Commonwealth-Party against the King. The other from *Cromwell*, much to the same purpose, with this Addition, that in prosecution thereof, a new Guard was designed the next day to be placed about the King, consisting of Men of that Party. He also sent by them a Letter to *Col. Hammond*, wherein after he had expressed his Distrust of the *Lovelling* Part of the

he Army, as he termed it, and the necessity
 ying upon him to provide for his own Safety,
 he assured him, that he did not intend to desert
 the Interest of the Army, ordering his two
 Messengers to acquaint him, that of all the Ar-
 my the King had chosen to put himself upon
 him, whom he knew to be a Person of a good
 Extraction, and tho engaged against him in
 the War, yet without any Animosity to his Per-
 son, to which he was informed he had no A-
 version; that he did not think it fit to surprize
 him, and therefore had sent the two Persons
 before-mentioned to advertise him of his Inten-
 tions, and to desire his Promise to protect the
 King and his Servants to the best of his Power;
 and if it should happen that he was not able to
 do it, then to oblige himself to leave them in as
 good a Condition as he found them. Being
 ready to depart with these Instructions, Sir John
 Barkley said to the King, that having no know-
 ledg of the Governour, he could not tell whe-
 ther he might not detain them in the Island, and
 therefore advised, if they returned not the next
 day, that he would think no more of them,
 but secure his own Escape. Towards Evening
 they arrived at *Limington*, but could not pass
 by reason of a violent Storm. The next Morn-
 ing they got over to the Island, and went di-
 rectly to *Carisbrook* Castle, the Residence of the
 Governour, where they were told that he was
 gone towards *Newport*. Upon this notice they
 rode after, and having overtaken and acquaint-
 ed

ed him with their Message, he grew pale, and fell into such a trembling, that it was thought he would have fallen from his Horse. In this Consternation he continued about an hour, breaking out sometimes into passionate and distracted Expressions, saying, O Gentlemen, you have undone me in bringing the King into the Island, if at least you have brought him ; and if you have not, I pray let him not come : for what between my Duty to the King, and Gratitude to him upon this fresh Obligation of Confidence, and the Discharge of my Trust to the Army, I shall be confounded. Upon this they took occasion to tell him, that the King intended a Favour to him and his Posterity, in giving him this Opportunity to lay a great Obligation upon him, and such as was very consistent with his relation to the Army, who had solemnly engaged themselves to the King ; but if he thought otherwise, the King would be far from imposing his Person upon him : but, said the Governour, if the King should come to any Mischance, what would the Army and the King say to him that had refused to receive him ? To which they answered, that he had not refused him who was not come to him. Then beginning to speak more calmly, he desired to know where the King was, and wished that he had absolutely thrown himself upon him, which made the two Gentlemen suspect that the Governour was not for their turn ; but Mr. *Asburnham* fearing what would become of the King

King if he should be discovered before he had gained this point, took the Governour aside, and after some Conference prevailed with him to declare, That he did believe the King relied on him as a Person of Honour and Honesty, and therefore he did engage himself to perform whatsoever could be expected from a Person so qualified. Mr. *Asburnham* replied, I will ask no more: Then said the Governour, Let us all go to the King, and acquaint him with. When they came to *Cowes-Castle*, where a Boat lay to carry them over, Col. *Hammond* took Capt. *Basket* the Governour of that Castle with him, and gave order for a File or two of Musqueteers to follow them in another Boat. When they came to the Earl of *Southampton's* House, Mr. *Asburnham* leaving Sir *John Barkley* below with Col. *Hammond* and Capt. *Basket*, went up to the King, and having given an Account of what had passed between the Governour and them, and that he was come with them to make good what he had promised; the King striking his Hand upon his Breast, said, *What have you brought Hammond with you? O you have undone me; for I am by this means made fast from stirring.* Mr. *Asburnham* then told him, that if he mistrusted *Hammond*, he would undertake to secure him. To which the King replied, *I understand you well enough; but if I should follow that Counsel, it would be said and believed, that he ventured his Life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him:* Telling him fur-

further, *That it was now too late to think upon any thing but going through the way he had forced him upon, wondering how he could make so great an Oversight*: At which Expression Mr. Ashburnham having no more to say, wept bitterly. In the mean time Col. Hammond and Capt. Basket beginning to be impatient of their long Attendance below in the Court, Sir John Barkley sent a Gentleman of the Earl of Southampton's to desire that the King and Mr. Ashburnham would remember that they were below. About half an hour after the King sent for them up, and before Col. Hammond and Capt. Basket had kissed the King's Hand, he took Sir John Barkley aside, and said to him; *Sir John, I hope you are not so passionate as Jack Ashburnham: Do you think you have followed my Directions?* He answered, *No indeed; but it is not my Fault, as Mr. Ashburnham can tell you, if he please.* The King perceiving that it was now too late to take other measures, received Col. Hammond cheerfully, who having repeated to him what he had promised before, conducted them over to Comes. The next Morning the King went with the Governour to Carisbrook, and on the way thither was met by divers Gentlemen of the Island, by whom he understood that the whole Island was unanimously for him, except the Governours of the Castles, and Col. Hammond's Captains; that Hammond might be easily gained, if not more easily forced, the Castle being day and night full of the King's Party;
and

and that the King might chuse his own time of quitting the Island, having liberty to ride abroad daily : So that not only the King and those that were with him, but also his own Party, approved of the Choice which he had made. The King and Mr. *Asburnham* applied themselves to the Governour with so good Success, that he and those with him seemed to desire nothing more of the King than to send a civil Message to both Houses, signifying his Propensity to Peace, which was done accordingly.

No sooner was the King's Escape taken notice of by the Guards, but Col. *Whalley* hastened to the Parliament with the Letter which the King had left upon his Table, shewing the Reasons of his withdrawing, and his Resolution not to desert the Interest of the Army; and tho it was visible that the King made his Escape by the Advice of *Cromwell*, and therefore in all appearance with the consent of *Whalley*, yet he pretended for his Excuse to the Parliament, that Mr. *Asburnham* had broken his Engagement to him at his first coming to *Woburn*, whereby he had undertaken that the King should not leave the Army without his Knowledge and Consent. Upon this Advice the Parliament declared it Treason for any Person to conceal the King; but the manner of his Escape being soon after discovered, and that he had put himself into the hands of the Governour of the *Isle of Wight*, they sent a Messenger to the Island for Mr. *Asburnham*, Sir *John Barkley*,

ley, and Mr. Leg, but the Governour refused to deliver them.

*The time for the General Rendezvous of the Army being now come, the Commonwealth Party amongst them declared to stand to their Engagement, not to be dispersed till the things they had demanded were effected, and the Government of the Nation established: to make good which Resolution several Regiments appeared in the Field with distinguishing Marks in their Hats: But Lieutenant General Cromwell not contenting himself with his part in an equal Government, puffed up by his Successes to an Expectation of greater things, and having driven a bargain with the Grandees in the House, either to comply with the King, or to settle things in a factious way without him, procured a Party to stand by him in the seizing some of those who appeared at the Rendezvous in opposition to his Designs. To this end, being accompanied with divers Officers whom he had preferred, and by that means made his Creatures, he rode up to one of the Regiments, which had the distinguishing Marks, requiring them to take them out, which they not doing, he caused several of them to be seized; and then their Hearts failing, they yielded Obedience to his Commands. He ordered one of them to be shot dead upon the place, delivering the rest of those whom he had seized, being eleven in number, into the hands of the Marshal; and having dispersed the Army to their Quar-

Quarters, went to give an account of his Proceedings to the Parliament: and tho when an Agreement with the King was carried on by other hands, he could countenance the Army in opposition to the Parliament; yet now the bargain for the Peoples Liberty being driven on by himself, he opposed those who laboured to obstruct it, pretending his so doing to be only in order to keep the Army in subjection to the Parliament; who being very desirous to have this Spirit suppressed in the Army by any means, not only approved what he had done, but gave him the Thanks of the House for the same: Whereunto, tho single, I gave as loud a *No* As I could, being fully convinced that he had acted in this manner for no other end but to advance his own Passion and Power into the room of Right and Reason; and took the first opportunity to tell him, that the Army having taken the Power into their hands, as in effect they had done, every drop of blood shed in that extraordinary way would be required of them, unless the Rectitude of their Intentions and Actions did justify them, of which they had need to be very careful.

Whilst these things were doing, the Earl of *Ormond* finding that the Irish used him treacherously, and that the Inclinations of his Army tended towards a Submission to the Parliament of *England*, invited them to send Commissioners to treat about the Surrender of *Dublin*, and the Forces commanded by him, into their hands.

hands. Which was done, and Articles agreed upon, indemnifying all Protestants in *Ireland* for what they had done there, unless they had been in the Rebellion during the first Year; and admitting them to compound for their Estates in *England* at two Years Value. A certain Sum was also promised to be paid to the Earl of *Ormond*, in consideration of what he had disbursed for the Army. This Agreement being concluded, the City of *Dublin* and the Forces before-mentioned were delivered to Col. *Michael Jones*, who was ordered by the Parliament to receive the same; and the Earl of *Ormond* came to *London*, where his Money was paid him, and he soon after retired into *France*.

The chief Officers of the Army having subdued those of their Body, who upon just Suspicion had opposed their Treaty with the King, thought themselves obliged by their former Engagement to press for a Personal Treaty with him, which they procured to be offered, in case he would grant four preliminary Bills: The first of which contained the Revocation of all Proclamations against the Parliament: The second, to make void all such Titles of Honour as had been granted by the King since he had left the Parliament; and that for the future none should be conferred upon any Person without the Consent of Parliament: The third was a Bill to except some Persons from Pardon: And the fourth for investing the Militia in the Two Houses. All which those who thought it reasonable

sonable and necessary to proceed judicially with him, were afraid he would grant ; it being visible, that had he been restored to the Throne upon any Terms, he might easily have gratified his Friends, and revenged himself upon all his Enemies. Col. *Hammond* and Mr. *Ashburnham* had frequent Conferences with the King, who had made such Promises to the Colonel, that he declared himself extremely desirous that the Army might resume their Power, and clear themselves of the Adjutators, whose Authority he said he had never approved. To this end he sent one Mr. *Traughton* his Chaplain to the Army, to perswade them to make use of their Success against the Adjutators ; and two or three days after earnestly moved the King to send some of those about him to the Army, with Letters of Compliment to the General, and others of greater Confidence to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, promising to write to them himself, which he did ; conjuring them by their Engagements, their Honour and Conscience, to come to a speedy Agreement with the King, and not to expose themselves to the Fantastick Giddiness of the Adjutators. Sir *John Barkley* was made choice of for this Employment, who taking Mr. *Henry Barkley* his Cousin German with him, departed from the Island with a Pass from the Governour of *Cores* ; and being on his way met Mr. *Traughton* on his Return between *Bagshot* and *Windsor*, who acquainted him that he had no good News to

carry back to the King, the Army having taken new Resolutions touching his Person. Being gone a little farther he was met by Cornet *Joyce*, who told him, that he was astonish'd at his Design of going to the Army, acquainting him, that it had been debated amongst the Adjutors, whether, in justification of themselves, the King should be brought to a Trial; of which Opinion he declared himself to be, not out of any ill Will, as he said, to the King's Person, but that the Guilt of the War might be charged upon those that had caused it. About an hour after his Arrival at *Windsor*, Sir *John Barkley* went to the General's Quarters, where he found the Officers of the Army assembled; and being admitted, delivered his Letters to the General, who having received them, ordered him to withdraw. After he had attended about half an hour, he was called in again, and told by the General, with some Severity on his Face, that they were the Parliament's Army, and therefore could say nothing to the King's Motion about Peace, but must refer those Matters, and the King's Letters, to their Consideration. Then Sir *John* looked upon *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and the rest of his Acquaintance, who saluted him very coldly, shewing him *Hammond's* Letter to them, and smiling with disdain upon it. Being thus disappointed, he went to his Lodging, and staid there from four till six of the Clock, without any Company, to his great Dissatisfaction.

At

At last he sent out his Servant with Orders to find out if possible some of his Acquaintance, who met with one that was a General Officer, by whom he was ordered to tell his Master, that he would meet him at Midnight in a Close behind the Garter-Inn. At the Time and Place appointed they met, where the Officer acquainted him in general, that he had no good News to communicate to him; and then descending to Particulars, said, You know that I and my Friends engaged our selves to you; that we were zealous for an Agreement, and if the rest were not so, we were abused: That since the Tumults in the Army, we did mistrust *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, whereof I informed you. I come now to tell you, that we mistrust neither, and that we are resolved, notwithstanding our Engagement, to destroy the King and his Posterity, to which end *Ireton* has made two Propositions this Afternoon: One, that you should be sent Prisoner to *London*: The other, that none should speak with you upon pain of Death, and I do now hazard my Life by doing it. The way designed to ruin the King is to send eight hundred of the most disaffected in the Army to secure his Person, and then to bring him to a Trial, and I dare think no farther. This will be done in ten days, and therefore if the King can escape, let him do it, as he loves his Life. Sir *John* then asking the reason of this Change, seeing the King had done all things in compliance with

the Army, and that the Officers were become superior since the last Rendezvous : he replied, that he could not certainly tell ; but conceived the ground of it to be, that tho one of the Mutineers, as he call'd him, was shot to Death, eleven more made Prisoners, and the rest in appearance over-aw'd, yet they were so far from being so indeed, that two thirds of the Army had been since with *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, to tell them, that tho they were certain to perish in the Enterprize, they would leave nothing unattempted to bring the whole Army to their Sense : and that if all failed, they would make a Division in the Army, and join with any who would assist them in the Destruction of those that should oppose them. That *Cromwell* and *Ireton* argued thus : If the Army divide, the greatest part will join with the Presbyters, and will in all likelihood prevail, to our Ruin, by forcing us to make our Applications to the King, wherein we shall rather beg than offer any Assistance ; which if the King shall give, and afterwards have the good Fortune to prevail, if he shall then pardon us, it will be all we can pretend, and more than we can certainly promise to our selves : thereupon concluding, that if they could not bring the Army to their Sense, that it was best to comply with them, a Schism being utterly destructive to both. In pursuance of this Resolution *Cromwell* bent all his Thoughts to make his Peace with the Party that was most oppo-
site

site to the King; acknowledging, as he knew well how to do on such occasions, that the Glory of this World had so dazzled his Eyes, that he could not discern clearly the great Works that the Lord was doing. He sent also comfortable Messages to the Prisoners that he had seiz'd at the general Rendezvouz, with Assurances that nothing should be done to their Prejudice; and by these and the like Arts he perfected his Reconciliation. For my own part, I am inclined to believe that his Son *Ireton* never intended to close with the King, but only to lay his Party asleep, whilst they were contesting with the Presbyterian Interest in Parliament. And now having secured themselves of the City, and persuaded the King to deny his Propositions of the Parliament, subdued the Army, and freed themselves from the Importunity of the King and his Party, they became willing to quit their hands of him, since their Transactions with him had procured them so much Opposition, and to leave the Breach with him upon the Parliament; where they found the Presbyterian Party averse to an Agreement with him upon any Proposals of the Army, and the Commonwealth Party resolved not to treat with him upon any at all.

Sir *John Barkley* being return'd to his Lodging, dispatch'd his Cousin *Henry Barkley* to the Isle of *Wight* with two Letters; one to the Governour, containing a general Relation, and doubtful Judgment of things in the Army; a-

nother in Cypher, with a particular account of the foresaid Conference, and a most passionate Supplication to the King to meditate nothing but his immediate Escape. The next Morning he sent Col. *Cooke* to *Cromwell*, to let him know that he had Letters and Instructions to him from the King, who returned in Answer by the Messenger, that he durst not see him, it being very dangerous to them both; bidding him be assured, that he would serve the King as long as he could do it without his own Ruin; but desired that it might not be expected that he should perish for his sake. Having received this Answer, Sir *John* took Horse for *London*, resolving not to acquaint any with the Inclinations of the Army, or with the King's pretended Escape, which he presumed would be in a few days, the Queen having sent a Ship to that purpose, and pressed it earnestly in her Letters. The next day after his Arrival at *London* he received a Message from the Scots Lords *Lanerick* and *Lauderdale*, desiring a Meeting with him, presuming he had a Commission from the King to treat: but he acquainting them that the King had said at his parting from him, that he would make good whatsoever he should undertake to any Person in his Name; the Lord *Lanerick* replied, he would ask no other Commission from him. At their second Meeting they came near to an Agreement, and resolved to conclude on the Monday following; but the next day Sir *John Barkley* receiving a Letter from
Mr.

Mr. *Asburnham*, requiring him in the King's Name to lay aside all other business, and to return immediately to the King, was constrained to go out of Town that Night, and to leave the Treaty unfinished, to the great Dissatisfaction of both Parties. At his return to the Island he found the King determined not to attempt his Escape till he had concluded with the Scots, who, he said, being very desirous to have him out of the hands of the Army, would on that account come to an Accommodation upon reasonable Conditions; whereas if he should leave the Army before any Agreement with the Scots, they would never treat with him but upon their own Terms. To this end the King ordered Sir *John Barkley*, Mr. *Asburnham*, Dr. *Hammond*, and Mr. *Leg* to review the Papers relating to the Treaty with the Scots, which had been managed in *London* chiefly by Dr. *Gough* a Popish Priest, who in the Queen's Name had conjur'd the King to make his speedy Escape, and in his own beseeched him not to insist too nicely upon Terms in the present Exigency of his Affairs: but Mr. *Asburnham* hesitated much upon many Expressions in the Articles relating to the Covenant and Church of *England*, of which he was a zealous Professor, making many Replies and Alterations; and at last insisted that the King would send for the Scots Commissioners to come to him. Accordingly Sir *William Flemming* was sent to that purpose; and the next day after an

Exprefs came from the ſaid Commiſſioners to the King, deſiring that two Papers might be drawn, the one to contain the leaſt he would be contented with, and the other the utmoſt that he would grant to the Scots; which laſt they deſired he would ſign, promiſing to do the like to the firſt, and to deliver it to Dr. *Gough* upon the reception of his Paper ſo ſigned. But this matter was delay'd ſo long, that they concluded the Scots Commiſſioners would be on their way before another Exprefs could be gone out of the Iſland. At the ſame time that the Scots were coming to the King, Commiſſioners were alſo ſent to him by the Parliament with offers of a Perſonal Treaty, on condition that the King in teſtimony of his future Sincerity, would grant the four Preliminary Bills formerly mentioned. Whiſt theſe two ſorts of Commiſſioners were one day attending the King as he walked about the Caſtle, they obſerved him to throw a Bone before two Spaniels that followed him, and to take great delight in ſeeing them conteſting for it; which ſome of them thought to be intended by him to repreſent that Bone of Contention he had caſt between the two Parties. It was propoſed by ſome of his Party that the King ſhould give a dilatory Answer to the Scots, that he might have the better opportunity to eſcape; and at the ſame time it was moved that he ſhould offer the four following Bills to the Parliament, upon preſumption that they could not well reſuſe them, nor

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durſt grant them: The firſt was for the Payment of the Army, and for their diſbanding as ſoon as paid: The ſecond to put a Period to the preſent Parliament: The third to reſtore the King and Queen to the Poſſeſſion of their Revenues: The fourth to ſettle a Church-Government without any coercive Power; and till ſuch a Government were agreed on, the preſent to continue without any coercive Authority. This they adviſed upon apprehenſions, if the King ſhould give a poſitive Denial, that the Commiſſioners might have Orders to enjoin the Governour to keep a ſtricter Guard over his Perſon, and thereby his deſigned Eſcape be prevented. To this Advice the King replied that he had found out a Remedy againſt their Fears; which was to deliver his Answer to the Commiſſioners ſealed up. The next day after the Engliſh Commiſſioners had delivered their Meſſage, and deſired the King's Answer within three or four days; the Commiſſioners of *Scotland, Lowden, Lanerick, Lauderdale*, and others, delivered a Proteſtation to the King, ſubſcribed by them, againſt the Parliament's Meſſage, affirming it to be contrary to the Covenant, being ſent without their Participation or Conſent; and from this time began ſeriouſly to treat with the King, concluding at laſt upon ſuch Terms as they could obtain rather than ſuch as they deſired from him. When the time to receive the King's Answer was come, he ſent for the Engliſh Commiſſioners,

ners, and before he delivered his Answer, demanded of the Earl of *Denbigh*, who was the Principal Commissioner, whether they had power to alter any of the substantial or circumstantial Parts of the Message; and they replying that they had not, he delivered his Answer sealed up into the hands of the Earl of *Denbigh*. Having received the King's Answer, the Commissioners withdrew for a little time, and being returned, the Earl of *Denbigh* seem'd to be offended, that the King had delivered his Message sealed, alledging that they were required by their Instructions to bring his Answer; which whether his Letter were or no, they could not know, unless they might see it, saying that he had been his Ambassador, and in that Employment would never have delivered any Letter without a preceding sight of it: The King told him that he had employ'd twenty Ambassadors, and that none of them had ever dared to open his Letters; but having demanded whether what the Earl of *Denbigh* had said were the sense of them all, and finding it so to be: Well then, said the King, I will shew it you on condition you will promise not to acquaint any one with the Substance of it, before you have delivered it to the Parliament; which they consenting to, he desired the Company might withdraw. The Commissioners propos'd that the Governour Col. *Hammond* might be permitted to stay; which the King being unwilling to allow, yet

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not thinking it convenient to refuse, gave way to, and by this means the Governour as well as the Commissioners, came to understand that the King had waved the Interests both of the Parliament and Army, to close with the Scots, the Substance of his Letter being an absolute refusal of his Consent to the four Bills presented to Him. The Impression which the discovery of these things made upon the Governour was so great, that before he departed from *Carrisbrook* to accompany the Parliament's Commissioners to *Newport*, he gave Orders for a strict Guard to be kept in his Absence; and at his return commanded the Gates to be lock'd up, and the Guards to be doubled, sitting up himself with them all Night; whereby the King's intended Escape was obstructed. The next Morning he ordered the King's Servants to remove, not excepting Dr. *Hammond* his own Kinsman, who taking leave of the King, acquainted him that they had left the Captain of the Frigate and two trusty Gentlemen of the Island to assist him in his Escape, assuring him that they would have all things in readiness on the other side of the Water to receive him. At their Departure the King commanded them to draw up a Declaration, and send it to him the next Morning to sign, which they did, and it was afterwards published in the King's Name. When they came to *Newport* one Capt. *Barleigh* caused a Drum to beat to draw People together in order to rescue the King; but there were few,

few, besides Women and Children, that followed him, having but one Musquet amongst them all, so that the King's Servants thought not fit to join with or encourage them; but went over to the other side, where they continued about three Weeks expecting the King's Arrival; leaving Capt. *Burleigh*, who with divers of his Followers was committed to Jail. Upon the return of the King's Negative to the four previous Bills before mentioned, the Parliament voted, *That no farther Addresses should be made to the King by themselves, or any other Person, without the leave of both Houses; and that if any presumed so to do, they should incur the Guilt of High-Treason.* They also publish'd a Declaration; prepared by Colonel *Nathanael Fiennes*, shewing the Reasons of their said Resolutions; wherein, amongst other Miscarrages of the King's Reign, was represented his breaking of Parliaments, the betraying of *Rochel*, his refusal to suffer any Inquiry to be made into the Death of his Father, his levying War against the People of *England*, and his rejecting all reasonable Offers of Accommodation after six several Applications to him on their part. Col. *Rainsborough* was appointed Admiral of the Fleet; and Mr. *Holland*, my self, and another Member of the House of Commons, sent down to the head Quarters at *Windsor* with Orders to discharge from Custody Capt. *Reynolds*, and some others called in derision *Levelers*, who had been imprisoned by the Army

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for attempting to bring about that which they themselves were now doing, and to exhort the Officers to contribute the best of their Endeavours towards a speedy Settlement.

The Scots in pursuance of their Treaty with the King, made what Preparations they could to raise an Army, wherein the Presbyterians and Cavaliers join'd, tho with different Designs. The same Spirit began to appear also in *England*, many of our Ships revolting to the King at the Instigation of one Capt. *Batten*, who had been Vice-Admiral to the Parliament, and others, encouraged by the City and the Presbyterian Party. The Seamen on board the Ship commanded by Col. *Rainsborough* refused to receive him, having before-hand secured one of my Brothers, with others whom they suspected to be faithful to their Commander. The Earl of *Warwick*, as most acceptable to them, was appointed to go down to reduce them to Obedience, by which means part of the Fleet was preserved to the Parliament, who immediately issued out Orders for the fitting out of more Ships to reinforce them. With the revolted Ships Prince *Charles* block'd up the Mouth of the River; and about the same time his Brother the Duke of *York*, who upon the Surrender of *Oxford* had been brought by Order of the Parliament to St. *James's*, and Provision made for him there, escaped from thence to serve the King's Designs. The Castles of *Deal* and *Sandwich* declared also for the King, and Col. *Rich* was sent

sent with a Party of the Army to reduce them. In the mean time Lieutenant General *Cromwell* not forgetting himself, procured a meeting of divers leading Men amongst the Presbyterians and Independents, both Members of Parliament and Ministers, at a Dinner in *Westminster*, under pretence of endeavouring a Reconciliation between the two Parties: but he found it a Work too difficult for him to compose the Differences between these two Ecclesiastical Interests; one of which would endure no Superior, the other no Equal; so that this Meeting produced no Effect. Another Conference he contrived to be held in *King-street* between those called the Grantees of the House and Army, and the Commonwealths-Men; in which the Grantees, of whom Lieutenant General *Cromwell* was the Head, kept themselves in the Clouds, and would not declare their Judgments either for a Monarchical, Aristocratical or Democratical Government; maintaining that any of them might be good in themselves, or for us, according as Providence should direct us. The Commonwealths-Men declared that Monarchy was neither good in it self, nor for us. That it was not desirable in it self, they urged from the 8th Chapter and 8th Verse of the first Book of *Samuel*, where the rejecting of the Judges, and the choice of a King, was charged upon the *Israelites* by God himself as a Rejection of him; and from another Passage in the same Book, where *Samuel* declares it to be

a great Wickedness ; with divers more Texts of Scripture to the same effect. And that it was no way conducing to the Interest of this Nation, was endeavoured to be proved by the infinite Mischiefs and Oppressions we had suffered under it, and by it : that indeed our Ancestors had consented to be governed by a single Person, but with this Proviso, that he should govern according to the Direction of the Law, which he always bound himself by Oath to perform : that the King had broken this Oath, and thereby dissolved our Allegiance ; Protection and obedience being reciprocal : that having appealed to the Sword for the Decision of the things in dispute, and thereby caused the Effusion of a Deluge of the Peoples Blood, it seemed to be a Duty incumbent upon the Representatives of the People to call him to an account for the same ; more especially since the Controversy was determined by the same means which he had chosen ; and then to proceed to the Establishment of an equal Commonwealth founded upon the Consent of the People, and providing for the Rights and Liberties of all Men, that we might have the Hearts and Hands of the Nation to support it, as being most just, and in all respects most conducing to the Happiness and Prosperity thereof. Notwithstanding what was said, Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, not for want of Conviction, but in hopes to make a better Bargain with another Party, professed himself unresolved, and having
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learn'd what he could of the Principles and Inclinations of those present at the Conference, took up a Cushion and flung it at my Head, and then ran down the Stairs; but I overtook him with another, which made him hasten down faster than he desired. The next day passing by me in the House, he told me he was convinced of the Desirableness of what was proposed; but not of the Feasibleness of it; thereby, as I suppose, designing to encourage me to hope that he was inclined to join with us, tho unwilling to publish his Opinion, lest the Grandees should be informed of it, to whom I presume he professed himself to be of another Judgment.

Much time being spent since the Parliament had voted no more Addresses to be made to the King, nor any Messages received from him, and yet nothing done towards bringing the King to a Trial, or the settling of Affairs without him; many of the People who had waited patiently hitherto, finding themselves as far from a Settlement as ever, concluded that they should never have it, nor any Ease from their Burdens and Taxes, without an Accommodation with the King; and therefore entred into a Combination through *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, to restore him to his Authority. To this end Petitions were promoted throughout all Countries, the King by his Agents fomenting and encouraging this Spirit by all means possible, as appeared by his intercepted Letters:

ters : so that Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, who had made it his usual Practice to gratify Enemies even with the Opression of those who were by Principle his Friends, began again to court the Commonwealth-Party, inviting some of them to confer with him at his Chamber : With which acquainting me the next time he came to the House of Commons, I took the Freedom to tell him, that he knew how to cajole and give them good Words when he had occasion to make use of them ; whereat breaking out into a Rage, he said, they were a proud sort of People, and only considerable in their own Conceits. I told him, it was no new thing to hear Truth calumniated, and that tho the Commonwealth-men were fallen under his Displeasure, I would take the liberty to say, that they had always been and ever would be considerable where there was not a total Defection from Honesty, Generosity, and all true Vertue, which I hoped was not yet our Case.

The Earl of *Warwick*, with the Fleet equipped for him by the Parliament, fell down the River towards the Ships commanded by Prince *Charles*, who presuming either that he would not fight him, or perhaps come over to him, lay some time in expectation ; but finding by the manner of his Approach that he was deceived in that Particular, he thought it convenient to make all the sail he could for the Coast of Holland. Our Fleet followed him as far as the *Texel* ; but according to the defensive Prin-

cept of the Nobility, our Admiral thinking he had sufficiently discharged his Duty by clearing the *Downs*, and driving the other Fleet from our Coast, declined to fight tho he had an opportunity to engage. *Deal* and *Sandown* Castles were reduced by Col. *Rich*, and many of our revolted Ships not finding things according to their Expectation, being constrained to serve under Prince *Rupert* instead of the Lord *Willoughby*, who they desired might command them, returned to the Obedience of the Parliament.

The Scots making all possible Preparations to raise an Army for the Restitution of the King, Sir *Thomas Glenham* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* went to *Scotland* to join with them in that Enterprize, and to draw what English they could to promote the Design. The first of these seized upon *Carlisle* by order of the Scots, tho contrary to their Articles; whereupon the Parliament thinking it necessary to provide for the Security of *Berwick*, placed a good Garison therein, and resolving to reinforce the Militia of each County, sent down some of their Members to give Life to the Preparations. Amongst others I was appointed to go down to the County for which I served, where we agreed to raise two Regiments of Foot and one of Horse. In the mean time the Enemy was not idle, and taking advantage of the Discontents of Capt. *Poyer* Governour of *Pembroke*, they prevailed with him to revolt, and declare for
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the King. Other disaffected Parts of the Nation, not yet ready for open Opposition, acted with more Caution, preparing and encouraging Petitions to the Parliament for a Personal Treaty with the King, of which the Principal were *Surrey, Essex, and Kent*. In *Essex* they met at *Chelmsford* in a tumultuous manner, and seized Sir *William Masbam* and other Members of Parliament; who being ready to use all gentle Methods to prevent farther Inconveniences, sent down Mr. *Charles Rich*, second Son to the Earl of *Warwick*, and Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, two of their Members, to endeavour to quier that tumultuous Spirit, with Instructions and Power to promise Indemnity to all that should desist from the prosecution of what they desired in this violent way : which Commission they managed so well, that upon their Promise to present the Requests of the Petitioners, which were drawn up in writing, to the Parliament, and to return them an Answer, the People of the Country dispersed themselves to their own Houses. But the Sedition of the *Surrey-men* was not terminated so easily, of whom many hundreds came to the doors of the Parliament ; and not being satisfied with the Answer the Parliament thought fit to give to their Petition, after they had been heated with Drink, and animated by the Cavalier Party, they resolved to force from them another Answer, and with intolerable Insolence pressed upon their Guard, beating the Sentinels to the main Guard, which

was drawn up at the upper end of *Westminster-Hall*, where they wounded the Officer who commanded them; and being intreated to desist, became more violent; so that the Souldiers were necessitated, in their own Defence, and discharge of their Duty, to fire upon them, whereby two or three of the Country-men were killed: neither did this quit them, till some Horse and Foot arrived to strengthen the Guard, and dispersed them. Lieutenant Colonel *Cobbet* who commanded the Guard, being called into the House to give an account of what had passed, went to the Bar bleeding from the Wounds which he had received, and related the Passages before-mentioned: but some Friends of the Petitioners within doors informing the House that the matter of Fact was otherwise than had been represented by the Lieutenant Colonel, the Parliament appointed a Committee to examine the Truth of it.

Those of the secluded Members who were in *England* being returned to the House, divers hard Words passed between them and others of the Parliament; and one day Commissary General *Ireton* speaking something concerning them, Mr. *Hollis* thinking it to be injurious to them, passing by him in the House, whispered him in the ear, telling him it was false, and he would justify it to be so if he would follow him, and thereupon immediately went out of the House, with the other following him. Some Members who had observed their passionate

nate Carriage to each other, and seen them hastily leaving the House, acquainted the Parliament with their Apprehensions: whereupon they sent their Serjeant at Arms to command their Attendance, which he letting them understand as they were taking Boat to go to the other side of the Water, they returned; and the House taking notice of what they were informed concerning them, enjoined them to forbear all Words or Actions of Enmity towards each other, and to carry themselves for the future as Fellow-members of the same Body, which they promised to do.

Lieutenant General *Cromwell* perceiving the Clouds to gather on every side, complained to me, as we were walking in the Palace-Yard, of the Unhappiness of his Condition, having made the greatest part of the Nation his Enemies, by adhering to a just Cause. But that which he pretended to be his greatest Trouble was, that many who were engaged in the same Cause with him had entertained a Jealousy and Suspicion of him; whic he assured me was a great Discouragement to him, asking my Advice, what Method was best for him to take. I could not but acknowledg that he had many Enemies for the sake of the Cause in which he stood engaged, and also that many who were Friends to that Cause had conceived Suspicions of him; but I observed to him, that he could never oblige the former, without betraying that Cause wherein he was engaged; which if he

should do upon the account of an empty Title, Riches, or any other Advantages, how those Contracts would be kept with him, was uncertain; but most certain it was, that his Name would be abominated by all good Men, and his Memory be abhorred by Posterity. On the other side, if he persisted in the prosecution of our just Intentions, it was the most probable way to subdue his Enemies, to rectify the Mistakes of those that had conceived a Jealousy of him, and to convince his Friends of his Integrity: that if he should fall in the Attempt, yet his Loss would be lamented by all good Men, and his Name be transmitted to future Ages with Honour. He seemed to take well what I said, and it might have been no Dis-service to him if he had acted accordingly: but his Design was rather to persuade me, for the present, of the Rectitude of his Intentions, than to receive Counsel from me concerning his Conduct.

About this time we obtained some Advantages in *Ireland*, where Col. *Michael Jones*, who had been order'd by the Parliament to command at *Dublin* when the Earl of *Ormond* delivered it up; with the Forces he had, fought the Rebels, tho double his Number, at *Dungon-hill*, killed some thousands of them, and totally routed the rest: Of which when the Parliament had received Information, they ordered five hundred Pounds by Year of the forfeited Lands in *Ireland* to be settled upon Col. *Jones*

as a Reward for his good Service. In *England* the Defection began to increase; Capt. *Henry Lilburn* who commanded for the Parliament in *Tinmouth-Castle*, which lies at the Mouth of the Harbour, and is a Key to *Newcastle*, declaring for the King; but notice thereof being brought to Sir *Arthur Haslerig* at *Newcastle*, of which Town he was Governour, he with great Expedition drew down a Party before the Place, and attacking it unexpectedly, took it by Assault, before the Men had been throughly confirmed in their Revolt by the Governour, whom he put to the Sword, and placed another Garison therein.

Many of those who had been for the Parliament in *South-wales* now joining with the King's Party, they grew to be a considerable Body; whereby Major General *Langhern*, who upon some Suspicion had been under Confinement, was encouraged to get away and join himself to them; Major General *John Stradling*, Sir *Henry Stradling*, Col. *Thomas Stradling*, and several other Gentlemen of those Parts falling in with them. Col. *Horton*, with about two thousand five hundred Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, was sent into *Wales* to engage them; Lieutenant General *Cromwell* following with as many more Forces as could be spared from the Army; who being within three or four days March of Col. *Horton*, received Advice that the Enemy, to the number of about seven thousand, had engaged the Colonel at St. *Faggons*

in *Glamorganshire*; that upon the first Attack our Forces gave ground, but well considering the Danger they were in, the Country being full of Enemies, and encouraged by their Affection to the Cause wherein they were engaged, they charged the Enemies Van, consisting of the best of their Men, with so great Bravery and Resolution, that they forced them to give way; which those that were in their Rear, who were for the most part new-raised Men, perceiving, began to shift for themselves. Upon this ours followed their Charge with so much Vigour and Success, that the whole Body of the Enemy was soon routed and dispersed; many of them were killed in the Pursuit, and many taken Prisoners: amongst the latter was Major General *Stradling*, and divers other Officers. The News of this Success was very welcome to all those that wished well to the Publick, and proved a great Discouragement to the contrary Party.

The Petitioners of *Surrey* drew into a Body and in conjunction with the *Kentish-men* of the King's Party, appointed their Rendezvous upon *Black-heath*: But Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with that part of the Army which he had with him, disappointed that Design, by possessing himself of that Ground before them. However the Enemy had brought together a considerable Body of Men, many of whom were induced to come in, upon Assurances given that they should be commanded by *Mr. Hales*, a Gentleman of

a great Estate in *Kent*; tho' afterwards the Lord *Goring* appeared at the Head of them, as had been designed from the beginning. Upon the Advance of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Army, the Enemy who exceeded him in Number by one half at least, divided their Body, sending one part to possess themselves of *Maidstone* and the adjacent Places, and another Party to block up *Dover* and other Forts upon the Coast, whilst *Goring* remained with the rest about *Rocheſter*. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* resolving first to attack those about *Maidstone*, fell upon them, and beat them into the Town, which they had fortified before; whereupon tho' the Numbers within the Town being at least equal to those without, made it a Work of great Hazard and Difficulty, yet considering that those with the Lord *Goring* exceeded either, and might march to the Enemies Relief, ours resolved to storm the Place, which they did the Night following; the General by his own Example encouraging the Men to fall on, who for a good while were not able to make any considerable Progress, till Col. *Hewson* with his Regiment opened a Passage into one of the Streets, where the Dispute growing hor, he was knocked down with a Musquet; but recovering himself, he pressed the Enemy so hard, that they were forced to retreat to their main Guard, and falling in with them at the same time, so disordered them, that they all began to shift for themselves; wherein they were favoured by the Advantage
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Army towards them, Col. *Temple* and some others yet remaining in his Army being willing to improve the occasion, pressed him so hard to resolve to fight, that he could not well avoid it. At the beginning of the Battel the Success seemed to be very doubtful, but in the end ours obtained the Victory, some thousands of the Enemy being killed, many made Prisoners, and all their Baggage taken. Not long after this he declar'd against the Parliament, and joined with the Irish Rebels: Some of the English Officers concurred with him in his Declaration; many left him and came to the Parliament, who made provision for them, as they had done for those that came away before. Tho' this Conjunction of *Inchequin* was not concluded without the King's Consent, yet it was not a proper season for him to condescend so far as they desired: whereby great Divisions arose amongst them; for there was a party of Old Irish, as they were called, headed principally by *Owen Roe O Neal*, of whom several were in the Supreme Council, who, out of an innate Hatred to the English Government, joined with those who would be satisfied with nothing less than to have the Pope acknowledged to be their only Supreme Lord: so that not being able to agree, their Differences proved very serviceable to the English Interest. The like Spirit of Division appeared amongst our Enemies in *Scotland*, where tho' the Number was great of those that professed their constant Adherence to their En-
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agements contained in the Covenant, yet when it came to a Trial in their Convention, the Anti-Covenanters, who were for restoring the King without any Terms, carried all before them : So that instead of the Marquis of *Arville*, the Marquis of *Hamilton* was appointed General of their Army ; all the inferior Officers being of the same Mold and Principle ; in so much that the Pulpits who before had proclaimed this War, now accompanied the Army that was preparing to march with their Curses : for tho they could have been contented that the Sectarian Party, as they called it, should be ruined, provided they could find Strength enough to bring in the King themselves ; yet they feared their old Enemy more than their new one, because the latter would only restrain them from lording it over them and others, affording them equal Liberty with themselves ; whereas the former was so far from that, as hardly to suffer them to be Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water : for those who would have all Power both Civil and Ecclesiastical put into one Hand, could not possibly agree with such as would have it divided into many.

These Affairs necessitated the Parliament to raise the Militia, in order to oppose this malevolent Spirit which threatened them from the North, and also prevailed with them to discountenance a Charge of High Treason, framed by Major *Huntington*, an Officer of the Army, with the Advice of some Members of both Houses,

Houses, against Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, for endeavouring, by betraying the King, Parliament, and Army, to advance himself; it being manifest that the perfering this Accusation at that time, was principally designed to take him off from his Command, and thereby to weaken the Army, that their Enemies might be the better enabled to prevail against them.

The Design of the King's Escape was still carried on; but by the Vigilance of the Governor of the *Isle of Wight* and his Officers it was discovered and prevented. The next Morning after the Discovery they found the Iron Bars of the King's Chamber-window eaten through by something applied to them: Whereupon those who were to have been instrumental in his Escape, not knowing otherwise how to revenge themselves on those who had defeated their Enterprize, accused Major *Rolfe*, a Captain in that Garison very active and vigilant in his Charge, of a Design to kill the King, raising such a Clamour about it, that the Parliament thought not fit to decline the putting him upon his Trial; but the Accusation appearing to the Grand Jury to be grounded upon Malice, they refused to find the Bill. About the same time Capt. *Burleigh*, who had beat a Drum at *Newport* for the rescuing of the King, was brought to his Trial; and the Jury having found him guilty of High Treason, he was executed according to the Sentence.

Those of the Enemies commanded by the Lord *Goring*, who had fled into *Essex*, grew to a considerable Number ; but being new-raised Men, and not well acquainted one with another, upon the Advance of our Army retreated to *Colchester* with a Body so much exceeding ours, which pursued and besieged them in that Place, that Commissary General *Iretton* compared the Town and those therein to a great Bee-hive, and our Army to a small Swarm of Bees sticking on one side of it ; but the number of ours was soon increased by the Forces which the well-affected in the Counties of *Essex*, *Sussex*, *Norfolk*, and *Cambridge*, sent to their Assistance.

The Earl of *Holland*, who at the beginning of the Parliament had appeared active for them, and afterwards leaving them, had gone to the King at *Oxford*, when he supposed him to grow strong ; then again returning to the Parliament upon the declining of the King's Affairs, publishing a Declaration at his coming to *London*, that he left the King because he saw the Irish Rebels so eminently favoured by him ; in this low Condition of the Parliament, revolted again, and formed a Party of about a thousand Horse, with which he marched from *London*, and declared against them, accompanied by the Duke of *Buckingham*, (whose Sequestration upon the account of his Minority when he first engaged with the King, the Parliament had freely remitted) and the Lord
Francis

Francis his Brother, prevailing also with *Dalbeir*, formerly Quarter-Master-General to the Earl of *Essex*, to join with them. Their Rendezvous was appointed to be upon *Bansted-Downs*; but the Vigilance of the Parliament was such, that a Party of Horse and Foot was soon sent after them, commanded by Sir *Michael Lewesey*, who without much Dispute put those Courtly Gentlemen to the rout. The Lord *Francis* presuming perhaps that his Beauty would have charmed the Souldiers, as it had done Mrs. *Kirk*, for whom he made a splendid Entertainment the Night before he left the Town, and made her a Present of Plate to the Value of a thousand Pounds, stayed behind his Company, where unseasonably daring the Troopers, and refusing to take Quarter, he was killed, and after his Death there was found upon him some of the Hair of Mrs. *Kirk* sew'd in a piece of Ribbon that hung next his Skin. The rest fled towards *St. Neots* in the County of *Huntington*, where being fallen upon again, they were routed a second time: in which Action the Parliament's Souldiers, to express their Detestation of *Dalbeir's* Treachery, hewed him in pieces. The Earl of *Holland* was taken, and sent Prisoner to *Warwick-Castle*; but the Duke of *Buckingham* escaped, and went over to *France*.

Pomfret-Castle being seized by some of the King's Party, was besieged by the Country, assisted by some of the Army, Sir *Hugh Cholme-*

ly commanding at the Siege ; but the Army finding little Progress made therein, ordered Col. *Rrainsborough* with more Forces thither, appointing him to command in the room of Sir *Hugh Cholmely*. Whilst he was preparing for that Service, being at *Doncaster*, ten or twelve Miles from *Pomfret*, with a considerable Force in the Town, a Party of Horse dismounting at his Quarters, and going up as Friends to his Chamber, under pretence of having business with him, seized him first, and upon his Refusal to go silently with them, murdered him. After his Death another Commander being appointed in his place to carry on the Siege, those in the Castle were reduced to such Extremities, that some of the most desperate of them resolved, together with their Governour one *Morris*, who had been Page to the Earl of *Starfford*, to endeavour the breaking through our Forces on Horseback ; which they attempted, and tho most of them were beaten back to the Castle by the Besigers, yet this *Morris* made this way through ; but was afterwards taken as he passed through the Country in the Disguise of a Beggar, and carried to *York*, where he was arraigned before Justice *Thorpe*, and being found guilty of Treason, was executed for the same.

Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, with that part of the Army which was with him, besieged the Town and Castle of *Pembroke*, whither the chief of that Party that fled from *St. Faggons*

ing, on purpose, as was said, that the English might be cut off, and his Party kept intire to enable him to set up for himself, and give Law to both Nations, they began to shift for themselves: which made such an Impression upon the Scots, that they soon followed their Example, retreating in a disorderly manner. Ours followed them so close, that most of their Foot threw down their Arms, and yielded themselves Prisoners. Many of the principal Officers of their Foot were taken, with all their Artillery, Ammunition and Baggage. *Hamilton*, with four or five thousand Horse in a Body, left the Field, and was pursued by *Col. Thorne* a Member of Parliament, and Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, a worthy and a valiant Man, who following them too close, and unadvisedly run himself upon one of their Lances, wherewith he was mortally wounded, which he perceiving by the wasting of his Spirits, to express his Affection to his Country, and Joy for the Defeat of the Enemy, desired his Man to open to the right and left, that he might have the Satisfaction to see them run before he died. The Enemies Body of Horse kept themselves together for some days roving up and down the Country about *Leicestershire*, which County the Lord *Grey of Grooby* had raised, and brought together about three thousand Horse and Foot to preserve the Country from Plunder, and to take all possible Advantages against the Enemy: and tho' a Body of Horse
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from the Army was in pursuit of the Scots, yet the *Leicestershire* Party came up first to them at *Uttoxeter* in *Staffordshire*, where the Body of the Enemies Horse was; and whilst the Scots were treating with the other Party from the Army, the Lord *Grey's* Men observing no Guards kept, entred upon them, before any Conditions were made; whereupon *Hamilton* surrendred himself to Col. *Wayte*, an Officer of the *Leicestershire*-Party, delivering to him his Scarf, his George, and his Sword, which last he desired him to keep carefully, because it had belonged to his Ancestors. By the two Parties the Scots were all made Prisoners, and all their Horses seized: the Duke of *Hamilton* was carried Prisoner to *Windsor-Castle*, and all their Standards of Horse and Foot were taken and sent up to *London*, where the Parliament ordered them to be hung up in *Westminster-Hall*. The House of Lords who had avoided to declare the Scots Enemies whilst their Army was entire, now after their Defeat prevented the House of Commons, and moved that a Day might be appointed to give God Thanks for this Success. The News of this Victory being carried to the *Isle of Wight*, the King said to the Governour, that it was the worst News that ever came to *England*; to which he answered, That he thought the King had no cause to be of that Opinion, since if *Hamilton* had beaten the English, he would certainly have possessed himself of the Thrones of *Eng-*
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Ireland and Scotland : the King presently replied, *You are mistaken, I could have commanded him back with the motion of my Hand.* Which whether he could do or no, was doubtful ; but whatever Reasons he had for this Opinion, it seemed very unseasonable to own it openly in that Conjunction. Lieutenant General *Cromwell* marched with part of his Army to *Edinburgh*, where he dispossessed the *Hamiltonian* Party of their Authority, and put the Power into the hands of the Presbyterians ; by whom he was received with great Demonstrations of Joy : and tho' lately they looked upon the Independent Party as the worst of their Enemies, yet now they owned and embraced them as their best Friends and Deliverers ; and having notice given them that the English Army was about to return into *England*, they prevailed with the Lieutenant General to leave Major General *Lambert* with a Body of Horse, till they could raise more Forces to provide for their own Safety.

The Treaty with the King being pressed with more heat than ever, and a Design visibly appearing to render all our Victories useless thereby ; by the Advice of some Friends I went down to the Army, which lay at that time before *Colchester* ; where attending upon the General Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, to acquaint him with the state of Affairs at *London*, I told him, that a Design was driving on to betray the Cause in which so much of the Peoples Blood

Blood had been shed : that the King being under a Restraint, would not account himself obliged by any thing he should promise under such Circumstances ; assuring him, that most of those who pushed on the Treaty with the greatest Vehemency , intended not that he should be bound to the performance of it, but designed principally to use his Authority and Favour in order to destroy the Army ; who, as they had assumed the Power, ought to make the best use of it, and to prevent the Ruin of Themselves and the Nation. He acknowledged what I said to be true, and declared himself resolved to use the Power he had, to maintain the Cause of the Publick, upon a clear and evident Call, looking upon himself to be obliged to pursue the Work which he was about. Perceiving by such a general Answer that he was irresolute, I went to Commissary General *Ireston*, who had a great Influence upon him, and having found him, we discoursed together upon the same Subject, wherein we both agreed that it was necessary for the Army to interpose in this matter, but differed about the time; he being of opinion, that it was to permit the King and the Parliament to make an Agreement, and to wait till they had made a full Discovery of their Intentions, whereby the People becoming sensible of their own Danger, would willingly join to oppose them. My Opinion was, that it would be much easier for the Army to keep them from a Conjunction,

than to oppose them when united ; it being highly probable that the first things they would fall upon after their Union, would be such as were most taking with the People, in order to oblige them to assist in the disbanding of the Army, under pretence of lessening their Taxes: and then if the Army should in any manner signify a Dislike of their Proceedings, they would be esteemed by the Majority of the People, to be Disturbers of the publick Peace, and accused of designing nothing save their own particular Advantages.

The King's Party in *Colchester* expecting to be included in the Peace which was treating between him and the Parliament, held out to the utmost ; but being in extreme want of Provisions, and destitute of all hopes of Relief since the Defeat of the Scots, they were forced to surrender on the 28th of *August*, 1648. upon Articles, whereby some of the principal of them being Prisoners at Discretion, the Court Martial assembled and condemned Sir *Charles Lucie*, Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Barnard Gascoine*, to die ; the last of whom being a Foreigner, was pardoned, and the other two were shot to death according to the Sentence. The Lord *Goring* and the Lord *Capel* were sent Prisoners to *London*, and committed to the Tower by an Order of the Parliament.

The Two Houses finding things in this posture, hastened the Departure of their Commissioners to the *Ile of Wight*, with Powers and

and Instructions to treat with the King, who principally insisted on that Article concerning Bishops, whom he accounted to be by Divine Right, or rather essentially necessary to the Support of Arbitrary Power; whereupon Ministers of each side were appointed to dispute touching that Subject, in order to satisfy the King's Conscience. But the Army having now wonderfully dispersed their Enemies on every part, began to consider how to secure themselves and the Common Cause against the Counsels that were carried on in opposition to them, under pretext of making Peace with the King, and to that end drew up a Declaration at *St. Albans*, dated the 16th of *November*, 1648. shewing, that the Grounds of their first Engagement was to bring Delinquents to Justice; that the King was guilty of the Blood shed in the first and second War, and that therefore they could not trust him with the Government. This Remonstrance they presented to the Parliament on the 20th of *November*, 1648. The King and Parliament seeing this Cloud beginning to gather, endeavoured by all means possible to hasten their Treaty to a Conclusion. The Army also were not wanting to fortify themselves against that Shock, sending some of their own Number to those Members of Parliament, whom they esteemed most faithful to the Common Cause, to invite them down to the Army, after they should in a publick manner have expressed their Dissatisfaction to the Proceedings of

of those who had betrayed the Trust reposed in them by the good People of *England*, and declared, that finding it impossible to be any farther serviceable in Parliament, they had resolved to repair to the Army in order to procure their Assistance in settling the Government of the Nation upon a just Foundation. At a Meeting of some Members of Parliament with the said Officers from the Army, it was resolved, That tho' the way proposed by them might be taken in case all other means failed, yet seeing there was more than a sufficient number of Members in the Parliament to make a House, who were most affectionate to the Publick Cause, it would be more proper for the Army to relieve them from those who rendred them useles to the Publick Service, thereby preserving the Name and Place of the Parliament, than for the Members thereof to quit their Stations wherein they were appointed to serve, and to leave the Civil Authority in the hands of those who would be ready to fall in with any Power that would attempt to frustrate what should be agreed on by them and the Army. In prosecution of this Result the Army drew to *Colebrook*, from whence Commissary General *Ireton* sent me word, that now he hoped they should please me, which I must acknowledg they did by the way which they were taking ; not from any particular Advantages that I expected from it, except an equal share of Security with other Men ; but that the People of *England* might
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be preserved in their just Rights, from the Oppressions of violent Men ; the Question in dispute between the King's Party, and us being, as I apprehended, *Whether the King should govern as a God by his Will, and the Nation be governed by Force like Beasts : or whether the People should be governed by Laws made by themselves, and live under a Government derived from their own Consent.* Being fully perswaded that an Accommodation with the King was unsafe to the People of *England*, and unjust and wicked in the nature of it. The former, besides that it was obvious to all Men, the King himself had proved, by the Duplicity of his dealing with the Parliament, which manifestly appeared in his own Papers taken at the Battel of *Naseby*, and elsewhere. Of the latter I was convinced by the express Words of God's Law ; *That Blood defileth the Land, and the Land cannot be cleansed of the Blood that is shed therein, but by the Blood of him that shed it.* Numb. 35. v. 33. And therefore I could not consent to the Counsels of those, who were contented to leave the Guilt of so much Blood upon the Nation, and thereby to draw down the just Vengeance of God upon us all ; when it was most evident that the War had been occasioned by the Invasion of our Rights, and open Breach of our Laws and Constitution on the King's part.

The Commissioners that were appointed to manage the Treaty with the King returned with the King's Answer, containing neither a positive Grant, nor an absolute Denial. As to the Bishops,

shops, he still retained his Principle of their Divine Right, and therefore declared that he could not dispense with the Abolition of them; but for present Satisfaction, hoping by giving ground to gain a better opportunity to serve them, he consented that those who had bought their Lands should have a Lease of them for some Years: and for satisfaction for the Blood that had been shed, he was willing that six should be excepted; but withal Care was taken, that they should be such as were far enough from the reach of Justice. By another Article, the Militia was to remain in the Parliament for ten Years: thereby implying, if I mistake not, that the Right of granting it was in the King, and consequently that we had done him wrong in contending with him for it. By such ways and means did some Men endeavour to abuse the Nation.

Some of our Commissioners who had been with the King, pleaded in the House for a Concurrence with him, as if they had been employed by him; tho' others with more Ingenuity acknowledged that they would not advise an Agreement upon those Terms, were it not to prevent a greater Evil that was like to ensue upon the Refusal of them. But Sir *Henry Vane* so truly stated the matter of Fact relating to the Treaty, and so evidently discovered the Design and Deceit of the King's Answer, that he made it clear to us, that by it the Justice of our Cause was not asserted, nor our Rights secured for the future; concluding, that if they should accept of these Terms without the Concurrence of the Army,

Army, it would prove but a Feather in their Caps: Notwithstanding which the corrupt Party in the House having bargain'd for their own and the Nation's Liberty, resolved to break through all Hazards and Inconveniences to make good their Contract, and after twenty four hours Debate, resolved by the Plurality of Votes, *That the King's Concessions were Ground for a future Settlement.* At which some of us expressing our Dissatisfaction, desired that our Protestation might be entred; but that being denied, as against the Orders of the House, I contented my self to declare publicly, that being convinced that they had deserted the Common Cause and Interest of the Nation, I could no longer join with them; the rest of those who dissented also expressing themselves much to the same purpose. The day following some of the principle Officers of the Army came to *London*, with expectation that things would be brought to this issue; and consulting with some Members of Parliament and others, it was concluded after a full and free Debate, that the Measures taken by the Parliament were contrary to the Trust reposed in them, and tending to contract the Guilt of the Blood that had been shed upon themselves, and the Nation: that it was therefore the Duty of the Army to endeavour to put a stop to such Proceedings; having engaged in the War, not simply as Mercenaries, but out of Judgment and Conscience, being convinced that the Cause in which they were

were engaged was just, and that the Good of the People was involved in it. Being come to this Resolution, three of the Members of the House, and three of the Officers of the Army withdrew into a private Room, to consider of the best means to attain the ends of our said Resolution, where we agreed that the Army should be drawn up the next Morning, and Guards placed in *Westminster-Hall*, the Court of Requests, and the Lobby; that none might be permitted to pass into the House but such as had continued faithful to the Publick Interest. To this end we went over the Names of all the Members one by one, giving the truest Characters we could of their Inclinations, wherein I presume we were not mistaken in many; for the Parliament was fallen into such Factions and Divisions, that any one who usually attended and observed the business of the House, could, after a Debate upon any Question, easily number the Votes that would be on each side, before the Question was put. Commissary General *Ireton* went to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and acquainted him with the necessity of this extraordinary way of proceeding, having taken care to have the Army drawn up the next Morning by seven of the Clock. Col. *Pride* commanded the Guard that attended at the Parliament-doors, having a List of those Members who were to be excluded, preventing them from entering into the House, and securing some of the most suspected under a Guard provided

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for that end ; in which he was assisted by the Lord Grey of Grooby and others, who knew the Members. To justify these Proceedings the Army sent a Message to the House, representing, That whereas divers Members had been expelled the House upon account of the Violence done to the Parliament by the City of London, and others, in 1647. yet upon the Absence of many well-affected Members, by reason of their Employments in the Army and elsewhere against the Enemy, the said Persons were re-admitted without any Trial or Satisfaction in the things whereof they were accused ; whereby the Scots had been drawn to invade this Kingdom, and the House prevented by the Intruders and their Accomplices from declaring against the Invaders, who had made up the Number of ninety odd Votes to that purpose : And whereas by the prevalency of the same corrupt Counsels, Justice had been obstructed, and a Settlement of Affairs hindered : and lastly, the King's Concessions declared to be a Ground for the Settlement of Peace, notwithstanding the Insufficiency and Defects of them ; they therefore most humbly desired that all those Members who are innocent in these things, would by a publick Declaration acquit themselves from any Guilt thereof, or Concurrence therein, and that those who shall not so acquit themselves, may be excluded or suspended the House till they have given clear Satisfaction therein, that those
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who have faithfully performed their Trust, may proceed without interruption to the execution of Justice, and to make speedy provision for an equal Succession of Representatives, wherein Differences may be composed, and all Men comfortably acquiesce, as they for their parts thereby engaged and assured them they would. The House, 'wherein there was about six score, was moved to send for those Members who were thus excluded by the Army; which they did, as I presume, rather upon the account of Decency, than from any desire they had that their Message should be obeyed; and that it might clearly appear that this Interruption proceeded from the Army, and not from any Advice of the Parliament, to the end that what they should act separately, might be esteemed to be only in order to prevent such Inconveniences as might otherwise fall upon the Nation, if the whole Power should be left in the hands of an Army; and that their Actions appearing to be founded upon this Necessity, they might the better secure the Respect and Obedience of the People. Upon such Considerations, when the Serjeant returned and acquainted them that the excluded Members were detained by the Army, the House proceeded in the business before them.

Lieutenant General *Cromwell* the Night after the Interruption of the House arrived from *Scotland*, and lay at *Whitehall*, where, and at other Places, he declared that he had not been

acquainted with this Design ; yet since it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it.

Major General *Harrison* being sent by the Army with a Party of Horse to bring the King from the *Isle of Wight*, Col. *Hammond*, who was entrusted with the Custody of him by the Parliament, disputed to deliver him ; but finding that those about him inclined to comply, he thought it not convenient to make any farther Opposition : So that the King was conducted from the Island to *Hurst-Castle*, and from thence to *Windsor*, by Major General *Harrison*. - Being on his way, he dined at Mr. *Leviston's* in *Bagshot-Park*, who had provided a Horse for him to make his Escape ; but this Design also was discovered, and prevented. The King being at *Windsor*, it was debated what should be done with him : The Army were for bringing him to a Trial, for levying War against the Parliament and People of *England*, and the Common-Council of the City of *London* presented a Petition to the Parliament by the hands of Col. *Titchborn* to that effect ; but some of the Commonwealths men desired that before they consented to that Method, it might be resolving what Government to establish, fearing a Design in the Army to set up some one of themselves in his room : others endeavoured to perswade them that the execution of Justice ought to be their first Work, in respect of their Duty to God and the People ;

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that the failure therein had been already the occasion of a second War, which was justly to be charged on the Parliament for neglecting that Duty; that those who were truly Commonwealths-men, ought to be of that Opinion, as the most probable means to attain their Desires in the establishment of an equal and just Government; and that the Officers of the Army, who were chiefly to be suspected, could not be guilty of so much Impudence and Folly, to erect an Arbitrary Power in any one of themselves, after they had in so publick a manner declared their Detestation of it in another.

In order to the accomplishment of the important Work which the House of Commons had now before them, they voted, *That by the Fundamental Laws of the Land, it is Treason for the King of England, for the time being, to levy War against the Parliament and Kingdom.* To which the Lords not concurring, they passed it the next day without their Consent; and the day after declared, *That the People are, under God, the Original of all just Power: That the House of Commons being chosen by, and representing the People, are the Supreme Power in the Nation: That whatsoever is enacted or declared for Law by the Commons in Parliament, hath the Force of a Law, and the People are concluded thereby, tho the Consent of King or Peers be not had thereto.*

This Obstruction being removed, several Petitions were brought to the Parliament, for

to the House of Commons now stiled themselves, from the City of *London*, Borough of *Southwark*, and most of the Countries in *England*, requesting that the King might be brought to Justice ; in order to which they passed an Act, authorizing the Persons therein named, or any thirty of them, to proceed to the Arraignment, Condemnation or Acquittal of the King ; with full Power, in case of Condemnation, to proceed to Sentence, and to cause the said Sentence to be put in Execution.

This High Court of Justice met on the 8th of *January* 1648. in the Painted Chamber, to the number of about fourscore, consisting chiefly of Members of Parliament, Officers of the Army, and Gentlemen of the Country ; where they chose Serjeant *Aske*, Serjeant *Steel*, and Dr. *Dorrislaus* to be their Counsel ; Mr. *John Coke* of *Grays-Inn* to be their Solicitor, and Mr. *Andrew Broughton* their Secretary ; and sent out a Precept under their Hands and Seals for proclaiming the Court to be held in *Westminster-Hall* on the tenth of the said Month ; which was performed accordingly by Serjeant *Dendy*, attended by a Party of Horse, in *Cheapside*, before the old *Exchange*, and in *Westminster-Hall*. On the tenth they chose Serjeant *Bradshaw* to be their President, with Mr. *Lisle* and Mr. *Say* to be his Assistants ; and a Charge of High Treason being drawn up against the King, the Court appointed a convenient Place to be prepared at the upper end of *Westminster-Hall*

Hall for his Publick Trial, directing it to be covered with Scarlet Cloth, and ordered twenty Halberdiers to attend the President, and thirty the King.

All things being thus prepared for the Trial, the King was conducted from *Windsor* to *St. James's*: from whence on the 20th of *January* he was brought to the Bar of the High Court of Justice, where the President acquainted the King with the Causes of his being brought to that Place: For that He contrary to the Trust reposed in him by the People, to see the Laws put in execution for their Good, had made use of his Power to subvert those Laws, and to set up his Will and Pleasure as a Law over them: that in order to effect that Design, he had endeavoured the Suppression of Parliaments, the best Defence of the Peoples Liberties: That he had levied War against the Parliament and People of *England*, wherein great numbers of the good People had been slain, of which Blood the Parliament presuming him guilty, had appointed this High Court of Justice for the Trial of him for the same. Then turning to Mr. *Broughton* Clerk of the Court, he commanded him to read the Charge against the King; who as the Clerk was reading the Charge, interrupted him, saying, *I am not intrusted by the People, they are mine by Inheritance*; demanding by what Authority they brought him thither. The President answered, that they derived their Authority from an Act made

made by the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament: The King said the Commons could not give an Oath; that they were no Court, and therefore could make no Act for the Trial of any Man, much less of him their Sovereign. It was replied, that the Commons assembled in Parliament could acknowledg no other Sovereign but God, for that upon his and the Peoples Appeal to the Sword for the Decision of their respective Pretensions, Judgment had been given for the People; who conceiving it to be their Duty not to bear the Sword in vain, had appointed the Court to make Inquisition for the Blood that had been shed in that Dispute. Whereupon the President being moved by Mr. Solicitor *Coke* in the Name, and on the Behalf of the good People of *England*, commanded the Clerk of the Court to proceed in the reading of the Charge against him: which being done, the King was required to give his Answer to it, and to plead guilty, or not guilty. The King demurred to the Jurisdiction of the Court, affirming that no Man, nor Body of Men had Power to call him to an account, being not intrusted by Man, and therefore accountable only to God for his Actions; entring upon a large Discourse of his being in Treaty with the Parliament's Commissioners at the *Isle of Wight*, and his being taken from thence he knew not how, when he thought he was come to a Conclusion with them. This Discourse seeming not to the purpose, the President told him,

him, that as to his Plea of not being accountable to Man, seeing God by his Providence had over-ruled it, the Court had resolved to do so also; and that if he would give no other Answer, that which he had given should be registred, and they would proceed as if he had confessed the Charge: In order to which the President commanded his Answer to be entred, directing Serjeant *Dendy*, who attended the Court, to withdraw the Prisoner; which as he was doing, many Persons cried out in the Hall, *Justice, Justice*. The King being withdrawn, the Court adjourned into the Painted Chamber to consider what farther was fit to be done; and being desirous to prevent all Objections tending to accuse them of Hast or Surprise, they resolved to convene him before them publickly twice more; after which if he persisted in his Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, then to give Judgment against him. And that nothing might be wanting, in case he should resolve to plead, they appointed Witnesses to be examined to every Article of the Charge. At the King's second appearance before the Court, which was on the 22^d of *January*, he carried himself in the same manner as before; whereupon his Refusal being again entred, and he withdrawn, the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber. On the twenty third of *January* the King was brought a third time before the Commissioners, where refusing to plead, as he had done before, his Refusal

was entered, and Witnesses examined publickly to prove the Charge of his levying War against the Parliament: After which Solicitor General Coke demanded of the Court that they would proceed to the pronouncing of Sentence against the Prisoner at the Bar: whereupon the Court adjourned into the Painted Chamber, and upon serious consideration declared the King to be a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and a publick Enemy to the Commonwealth: that his Condemnation extend unto Death, by severing his Head from his Body, and that a Sentence grounded upon those Votes be prepared; which being agreed upon, the King should be ordered on the next day following to receive it. The Sentence being engrossed, was read on the 27th of *January*; and thereupon the Court resolved that the same should be the Sentence, which should be read and published in *Westminster-Hall* the same Day; that the President should not permit the King to speak after the Sentence pronounced; that he should openly declare it to be the Sense and Judgment of the Court, and that the Commissioners should signify their Consent by standing up. In the Afternoon the King was brought to the Bar, and desired that he might be permitted to make one Proposition before they proceeded to Sentence; which he earnestly pressing, as that which he thought would tend to the reconciling of all Parties, and to the Peace of the three Kingdoms, they permitted

ted him to offer it : The effect of which was, that he might meet the two Houses in the Painted Chamber, to whom he doubted not to offer that which should satisfy and secure all Interests ; designing, as I have been since informed, to propose his own Resignation, and the admission of his Son to the Throne upon such Terms as should have been agreed upon. This Motion being new and unexpected to the Court, who were not willing to deny or grant any thing without serious Deliberation, they withdrew to consider of it into the Inner Court of Wards ; and being satisfied upon debate, that nothing but loss of time would be the consequence of it, they returned into the Court with a Negative to his Demand, telling him that they met there as a Court of Justice commissioned by the Parliament, of whose Authority they were fully satisfied : that by their Commission they were not authorized to receive any Proposals from him, but to proceed to the Trial of him ; that in order thereto, his Charge had been read to him, to which if he would have pleased, the Counsel for the Commonwealth were ready to have proved it against him : that he had thrice demurred to the Jurisdiction of the Court, which Demurrer the Court had overruled and registred, ordering to proceed against him, as if he had confessed the Charge ; and that if he had any Proposition to make, it was proper for him to address it to the Parliament, and not to them.

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Then the President enlarged upon the horrid Nature of those Crimes, of which he had been accused, and was now convicted ; declaring that the only just Power of Kings was derived from the Consent of the People : That whereas the People had intrusted him to see their Laws put in Execution, he had endeavoured throughout the whole Course of his Reign to subvert those good Laws, and to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government in the room of them : That to cut off all hopes of redress he had attempted from the beginning of his Reign, either wholly to destroy Parliaments, or to render them only subservient to his own corrupt Designs : That tho he had consented, the publick Necessities so requiring, that this Parliament should not be dissolved but by an Act of themselves, he had levied War against them, that he might not only dissolve them, but by the Terrour of his Power for ever discourage such Assemblies from doing their Duty : That in this War many thousands of the good People of *England* had lost their Lives : That in obedience to what God commanded, and the Nation expected, the Parliament had appointed this Court to make Inquisition for this Blood, and to try him for the same : That his Charge had been read to him, and he required to give an Answer to it ; which he having thrice refused to do, he acquainted him that the Court had resolved to pronounce Sentence against him, and thereupon commanded the Clerk

Clerk to read it, which he did, being to this effect : That the King for the Crimes contained in the Charge, should be carried back to the Place from whence he came, and thence to the Place of Execution, where his Head should be severed from his body : which Sentence being read, the Commissioners testified their unanimous Assent by their standing up. The King would have spoken something before he was withdrawn ; but being accounted dead in Law, immediately after Sentence pronounced, it was not permitted. The Court withdrew also, and agreed that the Sentence should be put in Execution on the Tuesday following, which would be the 30th of January 1648. The King having refused such Ministers as the Court appointed to attend him, desired that Dr. *Juxton* late Bishop of *London* might be permitted to come to him ; which being granted, and Adjutant General *Allen* sent to acquaint the Doctor with the King's Condition and Desires, he being altogether unprepared for such a Work, broke out into these Expressions, *God save me, what a Trick is this, that I should have no more Warning, and I have nothing ready !* but recollecting himself a little he put on his Scarf, and his other Furniture, and went with him to the King, where having read the Common Prayer and one of his old Sermons, he administered the Sacrament to him ; not forgetting to use the Words of the Confession set down in the Liturgy, inviting all those that truly repent to make

make their Confession before the Congregation then gathered together ; tho' there was none present but the King and himself.

The High Court of Justice appointed a Committee to inspect the Parts about *Whitehall* for a convenient place for the Execution of the King, who having made their Report, it was agreed that a Scaffold should be erected to that purpose near the Banqueting-House, and order given to cover it with Black : The same day, being the 29th of *January*, they signed a Warrant for his Execution, to which about threescore of the Commissioners set their Hands and Seals, directing it to Col. *Hacker*, Col. *Hunks*, and Col. *Phaier*, or either of them. The Duke of *Glocester* and the Lady *Elizabeth* waited on the King the same day to take their leave of him. An Extraordinary Ambassador from the United Provinces had his Audience in the Parliament ; his business was to intercede with them for the Life of the King, and to preserve a fair Correspondence between *England* and the States. The next day about eight in the Morning the King, attended by a Guard, was brought from St. *James's* through the Park to *Whitehall*, where having drunk a Glas or two of red Wine, and stayed about two hours in a private Room, he was conducted to the Scaffold out of a Window of the Banqueting-house ; and having made a Speech, and taken off his George, he kneeled down at the Block, and the Executioner performed his Office. The Body was

was ordered to be interred at *Windsor*: The Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquiss of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, with some others having Leave from the Parliament, attended it to the Grave.

A Report of the Proceedings of the High Court of Justice being made to the Parliament, they declared, That the Persons imployed in that important Service had discharged their Trust with Courage and Fidelity; that the Parliament was well satisfied with the Account of their Proceedings, ordering them to be engrossed, and recorded amongst the Parliament Rolls, in order to transmit the Memory thereof to Posterity; and resolved that the Commissioners of the Great Seal should issue a *Certiorari* to their Clerk to record those Proceedings in the Chancery, and that the same should be sent to the other Courts at *Westminster*, and to the *Custos Rotulorum* of each County. Judge *Jenkins*, Sir *John Stowel*, and divers other Persons, who were Prisoners, and had carried themselves very insolently, now finding the Parliament to be in earnest, began to come to a better Temper. Colonel *Middleton*, who was also a Prisoner at *Newcastle upon Tyne*, ran away to *Scotland*; and being required to return, answered, That his Life was dearer to him than his Honour. Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* made his escape also; and Sir *Lewis Dives* through a House of Office in *Whitehall*. The Lord *Capel* got out of the Tower; but being dis-

discovered by a Waterman as he crossed the *Thames*, he was seized in a House at *Lambeth*. *Duke Hamilton* also escaped out of *Windsor-Castle*, and came to *Southwark*; where knocking at the Door of an Inn, he was seized by a Souldier, who knew him, and was passing by that way; whereupon he was committed to the Tower. The House of Lords becoming now the Subject of the Consideration and Debate of the Parliament, Lieutenant General *Cromwell* appeared for them, having already had a close Correspondence with many of them; and, it may be, presuming he might have farther use of them in those Designs he had resolved to carry on; but they not meeting in their House at the time to which they had adjourned, much facilitated their Removal; so that the Question being put, Whether the House of Commons should take Advice of the House of Lords in the Exercise of the Legislative Power, it was carried in the Negative, and thereupon resolved, *That the House of Peers was useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished*; and an Act was soon after passed to that effect. After this they proceeded to declare, *That the Office of a King in this Nation is unnecessary, burdensome and dangerous to the Liberty, Safety, and publick Interest of the People, and therefore ought to be abolished; and that they will settle the Government of the Nation in the way of a Commonwealth*. To this end they ordered a Declaration to be published, whereby it was declared Treason for

for any Person to endeavour to promote *Charles Stuart* to be King of *England*, or any other single Person to be chief Governour thereof: They also ordered the Great Seal, and other Seals, which had the Image of the late King on them, to be defaced; and appointed new ones to be made with the Stamp of the House of Commons on one side, accompanied with this Inscription, *The Great Seal of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England*: On the other side was engraven the Crois and the Harp, being the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with this Inscription, *God with us*: Ordering all Writs formerly running in the King's Name, to be issued out in the Names of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*. A High Court of Justice was constituted by Act of Parliament for the trying of Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Lord *Goring*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*. Duke *Hamilton* pleaded that he entered into *England* as an Enemy, being of another Nation, and born before the Act of Union, and consequently not to be tried by the Laws of this; besides he had surrendred himself upon Conditions. The rest of the Lords pleaded Articles also, and so did Sir *John Owen*: But that Allegation appeared to be of no weight by the Testimony of the General, in relation to the Lords *Goring* and *Capel*, and by the Evidence of Col. *Wayte* touching Duke *Hamilton*; the like being affirmed by other Witnesses against the Earl of *Holland* and Sir *John Owen*: for if there had

had been any Promise made to any of them ; either implicitly or by word of Mouth, it could only extend to protect them from the Military, not the Civil Sword: And as to the Plea for Duke *Hamilton*, that he was born before the two Nations were united, it was answered that they tried him not as Duke *Hamilton*, but as Earl of *Cambridg*, in which Capacity he had sate as a Peer of *England*, and therefore a Subject thereof: So that upon full Evidence they were all sentenced by the Court, to have their Heads struck off for High Treason, in levying War against the Parliament of *England*. Earnest Solicitations and Petitions were made for them to the Parliament ; but they thought no fit to reprieve the Duke, the Earl of *Holland*, or the Lord *Capel*. Touching the Lord *Goring* the House was equally divided, and the Speaker having upon such Occasions the determining Voice, gave it for his Reprieve. Commissary General *Ireton* observing no Motion made for Sir *John Owen*, moved the House to consider that he was a Commoner, and therefore more properly to have been tried in another way by a Jury : whereupon the House reprieved him also. The other three were executed a day or two after in the New Palace-Yard before *Westminster-Hall*, in pursuance of a Warrant signed by the Court to that purpose, the Parliament refusing to hearken to the Earl of *Denbigh*, who proposed on the behalf of Duke *Hamilton* his Brother-in-law, to give them

them a Blank signed by the said Duke, to answer faithfully to such Questions as should be there inserted. The Parliament having resolved to constitute a Council of State, the better to carry on the executive part of the Government, authorized five of their Members to agree upon the Number and Persons of such as they thought fit to be proposed to the Parliament for their Approbation. The five empowered to this end by the Parliament, were Mr. *John Lisle*, Mr. *Cornelius Holland*, Mr. *Luke Robinson*, Mr. *Thomas Scot*, and Me, who the sensible of my Unfitness for so great a Work, and of the Envy it would be attended with, yet being required by my Country to assist in this Service, I resolved to use the best of my Endeavours therein. The Number agreed upon was thirty five, which we filled up with such Persons as we thought best qualified with Integrity and Abilities suitable to so important a Station. Four of them were Lords, and the rest Commoners. The House agreed to our Report, only they were pleased to add us five to the number proposed by us. The Parliament being desirous to exclude from their Places those who were likely to undo what they had done, and yet unwilling to lose the Assistance of many honest Men, who had been in the Country during the late Transactions, passed an Order, that such Members as had not sat since the Trial of the King, should not be admitted to sit, till the House should be particularly satisfied

tified concerning them ; appointing the former five, or any three of them, to be a Committee to receive Satisfaction touching the Affections to the Publick Interest, of every Member who had not sat since the time aforesaid, and the Reasons of his Absence ; and to make their Report to the Parliament concerning them.

Prince *Charles* finding his Affairs in *England* to be in a desperate Condition, concluded an Agreement with the Irish Rebels, granting them full Indemnity for what they had hitherto acted, and encouraging them to carry on their Cruelties against the English by his Commission. The Lord *Incbequin* had already declared for him, and joined with the Irish Rebels. The Earl of *Ormond* was dispatched to *Ireland* for the same purpose ; and as a Pledge that Prince *Charles* would follow, his Baggage and Horses were sent thither before.

The Scots fearing their Clergy would not be permitted long to insult over the People, expressed themselves highly dissatisfied with our Proceedings in *England*, and chose rather to espouse the Interest of Prince *Charles*, than to enjoy the Fruit of what they had contended for against his Father, publickly declaring that they were obliged by the Covenant to promote the Government of a King, Lords and Commons ; which Government the Parliament of *England* had thought fit to alter. We endeavoured to satisfy their Commissioners, by shewing them the Reasons of our late Resolutions ; but they

refusing to hear them, returned home to their own Country, where they found things disposed to an Accommodation with Prince *Charles*, upon presumption that when by his Assistance they had destroyed the Sectarian Party, as they called them, they should be able to govern him well enough : but he supposing he had an easier part to act with the Irish, whose Principles were more suitable to his Inclinations, refused to hearken to them at that time.

Col. *Edward Popham*, Col. *Richard Dean*, and Col. *Robert Blake*, were appointed by the Parliament to command the Fleet ; the latter being designed with a Squadron to cruise upon the Irish Coast, in order to meet and fight the Ships commanded by Prince *Rupert*. Col. *Popham* was sent towards *Lisbon* to intercept the *Portugal* Fleet coming home from their Islands, because they had protected some Ships that had revolted from us, and sheltered them from our Fleet that was in pursuit of them, and had offered some Affronts to our Agent Mr. *Vane*, who was sent thither to endeavour a right Understanding between the two Nations. General *Dean* with another Squadron was ordered to remain for the Service of the Channel. This they did, well understanding how great Reputation a considerable Fleet would give to their Affairs, and of what Importance it is to this Nation always to guard the Seas, and more particularly in that Conjunction.

The Parliament much inclining to preserve a
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good Correspondence with the States General of the United Provinces, sent Dr. *Dorisslaus* into *Holland* to be their Agent there; who, a little after his Arrival at the *Hague*, was assaulted by about ten Assassins, English and Scots, who broke into his Lodgings and murdered him; and tho this Action was so infamous, and contrary to the Right of Nations, yet the Dutch were not very forward to find out the Criminals in order to bring them to Justice.

Mr. *Ascham* who was sent into *Spain* with a Publick Character also, was used in the like manner, by three Persons coming to his House at *Madrid*, where pretending to be English Merchants, they were admitted; and as he faulted the first of them, was struck into the Head by him with a Poniard; and his Secretary endeavouring to make his Escape, was killed with him. The Murderers took Sanctuary in a Church; but by an Order of State they were forced from thence, and committed to Prison; of which the Church-men loudly complained, after their usual manner, as an injurious violation of their Immunities. The Squadron commanded by Col. *Blake* being first ready, set sail for the Irish Coast, where Prince *Rupert* thinking himself not in a condition to fight him, retired with his Ships into the Harbour of *Kingsale*, under the Protection of the Fort. Col. *Popham* was next dispatched with his Squadron for *Portugal*, and was pleased to employ a Brother of mine as Lieutenant of that Ship, which

was commanded by himself. The Spanish Ambassador was the first that made application to us from any Foreign State. But the Parliament not being satisfied with the Address of his Credentials, refused to receive them till it should be directed to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: declaring, that tho they did not affect any flattering Titles, yet they resolved to have their Authority owned by all those who made their Addresses to them. With which the Court of Spain being made acquainted, the Ambassador received Instructions from the King his Master to that end, and framed the Direction according to our Desires.

Our Affairs beginning to acquire Reputation, and to carry a fair Probability of Success, divers Members of Parliament who had been long absent, addressed themselves to the Committee before mentioned, in order to their admission to sit in Parliament, and some of them would not scruple to give any Satisfaction that was desired to the Questions proposed unto them; which were, *Whether they joined in, or approved that Vote, declaring the King's Concessions a Ground for a future Settlement? Whether they approved of the Proceedings against the King? and whether they would engage to be true to a Commonwealth Government?* But we apprehending such extraordinary Expulsions as had been lately used, to be extremely hazardousto the Publick Safety, made it our Endeavour to keep those from a Re-admission, who might necessitate
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another occasion of using the like Remedy. And therefore, tho all possible Satisfaction were given in Words, we did, by weighing the former Depoſition of every particular Member who preſented himſelf, deſire to be in ſome meaſure aſſured; that they would be true to what they promiſed, in caſe the Commonwealth Intereſt ſhould come to be diſputed, before we would report their Condition to the Houſe. Some of the Houſe of Lords having procured themſelves to be choſen by the People, ſat in Parliament upon the Foot of their Election: in which Number was *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*, who being choſen by the Freeholders of the County of *Berks*, upon his admiſſion to the Houſe, ſigned the Engage-ment, as the reſt of the Members who ſat there had done; the Contents of which was, *To be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, as it was eſtabliſhed without a King or Houſe of Lords.* The ſame Engage-ment was taken by the Earl of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Edward Howard*, when they took their Places in Parliament, after they had been elected to ſerve there.

Whiſt we were thus providing for our Security in *England*, our Affairs in *Ireland* had not the ſame Succeſs, the Earl of *Ormond* having reconciled the Engliſh in *Munſter* to the Supreme Council of the Irish Rebels, the Scots alſo in the North falling in with them againſt us: with whome ſome Gentlemen of thoſe Parts joined, tho they had engaged themſelves to the

contrary. Yet one thing happened tending very much to the preservation of *Dublin*, and those few Places that were kept for the Parliament, which was, that *Owen Roe O Neal* who was General of the Old Irish, as they were termed, could by no means be brought to a Conjunction with the English. Sir *Charles Coote* being besieged in *London-derry*, agreed to supply the Besiegers with Powder, upon their engaging to furnish him with such Provisions as he wanted, which was performed on both sides: and the Lord *Inchequin* who was besieging *Dundalk* promised to do the like for Colonel *Monk*, who then commanded in that Place, upon the same Conditions; which was performed on *Monk's* part; but as his Men were carrying off the Ammunition, they were fallen upon by a Party of *Inchequin's* Horse, the Ammunition taken away, and many of them killed. The Scots drawing about *Dundalk*, most of the Garrison revolted to them; whereupon *Monk* delivered up the Place, upon condition that he should be permitted to return into *England*: where being arrived, he met with a cold Reception from the Parliament, upon suggestion, that he had corresponded with the Irish Rebels.

About this time an Agent from *Owen Roe O Neal* came privately to *London*, and found out a way to acquaint the Council of State, that if they thought fit to grant him a safe Conduct, he would make some Propositions to them that would

would be for their Service. The Council, to avoid any Misconstruction of their Actions, refused to hear him; but appointed a Committee to speak with him, of which I was one, ordering us to report to them what he should propose. His Proposition was, that the Party commanded by *O Neal* should submit to, and act for the Parliament, if they might obtain Indemnity for what was passed, and Assurance of the Enjoyment of their Religion and Estates for the time to come. We asked him why they made application to us, after they had refused to join with those who had been in Treaty with the King? He answered, that the King had broken his Word with them; for tho they had deserved well of him, and he had made them many fair Promises, yet when he could make better Terms with any other Party, he had been always ready to sacrifice them. We asked him farther, Why they had not made their Application sooner? he told us, because such Men had been possessed of the Power, who had sworn their Extirpation; but that now it was believed to be the Interest of those in Authority to grant Liberty of Conscience; promising, that if such Liberty might be extended to them, they would be as zealous for a Commonwealth as any other Party, instancing in many Countries where they were so. We informed him, that it was our Opinion that the Council would not promise Indemnity to all that Party, they being esteemed to have been

the principal Actors in the bloody Massacre at the beginning of the Rebellion: Neither did we think that they would grant them the Liberty of their Religion, believing it might prove dangerous to the Publick Peace. The Council upon our Report of what had passed at the Conference, concurred with our Opinion; so that having no more to do with the Agent, he was required to depart within a limited time. The Earl of *Ormond*, General *Preston*, and the Lord *Inchequin* beginning to draw their Forces towards *Dublin*, resolved first to reduce *Tredagh*: in order to which they sent Col. *Worden* thither with a strong Detachment of Horse and Foot, who attempting to take it by Assault, entred with most of his Men, but was beat out again by an inconsiderable Number of ours. Notwithstanding which the Garrison wanting Men to defend their Works, their Provisions also being almost consumed, was obliged to capitulate, and surrender upon condition that the Souldiers should have liberty to march to *Dublin*, the rest to return home, and to enjoy Protection there.

Dundalk and *Tredagh* being surrendered to the Enemy, and *Dublin* threatned with a speedy Siege by the Forces of the Royalists and Irish, combined together for the destruction of the English, the Parliament taking into their serious Consideration the deplorable State of their distressed Friends, resolved to send them Relief with all Expedition. In the mean time the Enemy

enemy marched towards *Dublin*, having sent a Party of Horse before to invest the Place, and to prevent any Relief from *Meath*-side; upon whose Approach Col. *Jones*, with the Forces he had with him, was obliged to retire to *Kilcullen*. A Party of Horse from the Town made a Sally upon the Enemy, and were repulsed with some Loss; but being reinforced from *England* by a Regiment of Horse commanded by Col. *Reynolds*, and two Regiments of Foot, Col. *Jones* being also come into the Town, they resolved upon a vigorous Defence. Immediately after the landing of these Supplies, *Dublin* was formally besieged by the Enemy, who had a great Army provided with all Necessaries for the carrying on of the Siege, and furnished by the Country with Provisions in great abundance, their Head-quarters being at *Rathmims*, a Mile from *Dublin* towards *Wicklow*. They took *Rathfarnham* by storm, and sent fifteen hundred Men to fortify *Bagginath*, in order to hinder our Army from landing at *Ringend*, being within a quarter of a Mile of it, and lying triangular with it and *Dublin*. *Bagginath* had a Rampart of Earth about it, and the Enemy had wrought upon it, to augment its Strength; a whole Night before they were discovered. But the next Morning Col. *Jones* perceiving their Design, concluded it absolutely necessary to endeavour to remove them from thence before their Works were finished. To that end he drew all his Forces both Horse and

and Foot to the Works that faced the Enemy ; and leaving as many as he thought necessary for the Defence of the Town, sallied out with the rest, being beaten four and five thousand, and falling upon them, beat them from their Works, killing Sir *William Vaughan* who commanded them, and most of the Men that were with him, closely pursuing the rest who fled towards their main Army, where the Earl of *Ormond* thought fit at last to throw down his Cards, which he had before refused to do, in contempt of our Forces ; and with his Royal Army, as it was called, retreated in great Disorder towards *Rathminis*: Col. *Jones* pursued him close, finding little Opposition, except from a Party of the Lord *Inchequin's* Horse that had formerly served the Parliament, who defended a Pass for some time, but were after some Dispute broken and forced to fly. Having routed these, he marched with all Diligence up to the Walls of *Rathminis*; which were about sixteen Foot high, and contained about ten Acres of Ground, where many of the Enemies Foot had shut up themselves ; but perceiving their Army to be entirely routed, and their General fled, they yielded themselves Prisoners. After this our Men continuing their Pursuit, found a Party of about two thousand Foot of the Lord *Inchequin's*, in a Grove belonging to *Rathgar*, who after some Defence obtained Conditions for their Lives, and the next day most of them took up Arms in our Service. This Success was the
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more remarkable, because unexpected on both sides, our handful of Men being led step by step to an absolute Victory, whereas their utmost Design at the beginning of the Action was only to beat the Enemy from *Bagginath* : and so surprizing to our Enemies, that they had not time to carry off their Money, which lay at *Rathfarham* for the paying of their Army, where Col. *Jones* seized four thousand Pounds very seasonably for the payment of his Men.

The Parliament having an Army ready to send to *Ireland*, a formidable Fleet to put to Sea, another Army to keep at home for their own Defence, and a considerable Force to guard the North against the Scots, who had declared themselves Enemies, and waited only an Opportunity of shewing it with Advantage, thought themselves obliged to expose to sale such Lands as had been formerly possessed by Deans and Chapters, that they might be enabled thereby to defray some part of that great Charge that lay upon the Nation. To this end they authorized Trustees to sell the said Lands, provided they could do it at ten Years Purchase, at the least ; but such was the good Opinion that the People had conceived of the Parliament, that most of those Lands were sold at the clear Income of fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen Years ; one half of the Sums contracted for being paid down in ready Money : besides which the Woods were valued distinctly, and to be paid for according to the Valuation.

tion. All Improvements belonging to the said Deans and Chapters, as well as those of the Bishops, either in Possession or Reversion, were reserved from sale to enlarge the Maintenance of poor Ministers. Yet this was not sufficient to restrain that Generation of Men from inveighing against the Parliament, and conspiring with their Enemies both at home and abroad, to weaken their hands, and if possible to render them unable to carry on the Publick Service. The Fee-farm Rents formerly belonging to the Crown, were also sold; and yet such was the necessity of Affairs, that notwithstanding all this the Parliament found themselves obliged to lay a Tax of a hundred and twenty thousand Pounds a Month upon the Nation; which Burden they bore for the most part without regret, being convinced that it was wholly applied to the Use of the Publick, and especially because those who imposed it paid an equal Proportion with the rest. The Crown-Lands were assigned to pay the Arrears of those Souldiers who were in Arms in the Year 1647. which was done by the Influence of the Officers of the Army that was in the present Service, whereby they made Provision for themselves, and neglected those who had appeared for the Parliament at the first, and had endured the Heat and Burden of the day.

In the Month of *September* 1649, the Army embarked and set sail for *Ireland*; Commissary General *Ireton* with one part of them designing for

for *Munster*, and Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, being appointed Lieutenant of *Ireland*, with the rest, for *Dublin* : But the Wind blowing a strong Gale from the South, they were both put into the Bay of *Dublin*, where they were received with great Joy : for tho the Enemies Army had been beaten from the Siege of that Place, and Col. *Jones* with the small Forces he had with him had made the best Improvement he could of that Advantage, by reducing some Garisons that lay nearest to him ; yet the Enemies were still in possession of nine Parts in ten of that Nation, and had fortified the most considerable Places therein. After our Army had refreshed themselves, and were joined by the Forces of Col. *Jones*, they mustered in all between sixteen and seventeen thousand Horse and Foot. Upon their Arrival the Enemies withdrew, and put most of their Army into their Garisons, having placed three or four thousand of the best of their Men, being most English, in the Town of *Tredah*, and made Sir *Arthur Ashton* Governour thereof. A Resolution being taken to besiege that Place, our Army sat down before it, and the Lieutenant General caused a Battery to be erected against an Angle of the Wall, near to a Fort, which was within, called the *Windmill-Fort*, by which he made a Breach in the Wall ; but the Enemy having a Half-moon on the Out-side, which was designed to flank the Angle of the Wall, he thought fit to endeavour to possess himself of it, which he did

did by storm, putting most of those that were in it to the Sword. The Enemy defended the Breach against ours from behind an Earth-work, which they had cast up within, and where they had drawn up two or three Troops of Horse which they had within the Town, for the Encouragement and Support of their Foot: The Fort also was not unserviceable to them in the defence of the Breach. The Lieutenant General well knowing the Importance of this Action, resolved to put all upon it; and having commanded some Guns to be loaded with Bullets of half a Pound, and fired upon the Enemies Horse, who were drawn up somewhat in view; himself with a Reserve of Foot marched up to the Breach, which giving fresh Courage to our Men, they made a second Attack with more Vigour than before: Whereupon the Enemies Foot being abandoned by their Horse, whom our Shot had forced to retire, began to break and shift for themselves; which ours perceiving, followed them so close, that they overtook them at the Bridge that lay cross the River, and separated that part where the Action was from the principal part of the Town; and preventing them from drawing up the Bridge, entred pell-mell with them into the Place, where they put all they met with to the Sword, having positive Orders from the Lieutenant General to give no quarter to any Soldier. Their Works and Fort were also stormed and taken, and those that defended them
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put to the Sword also, and amongst them Sir *Arthur Asbton*, Governour of the Place. A great Dispute there was amongst the Souldiers for his Artificial Leg, which was reported to be of Gold, but it proved to be but of Wood, his Girdle being found to be the better Booty, wherein two hundred Pieces of Gold were found quilted. The Slaughter was continued all that day and the next; which extraordinary Severity I presume was used, to discourage others from making Opposition. After that the Army besieged *Wexford*, and having erected a Battery against the Castle, which stood near the Wall of the Town, and fired from it most part of the day, whereby a small Breach was made; Commissioners were sent in the Evening from the Enemy to treat about the Surrender of it. In the mean time our Guns continued firing, there being no Cessation agreed, whereby the Breach in the Castle being made wider, the Guard that was appointed to defend it quitted their Post, and thereupon some of our Men entred the Castle, and set up their Colours at the top of it, which the Enemy having observed, left their Stations in all parts: so that ours getting over the Walls, possessed themselves of the Town without Opposition, and opened the Gates that the Horse might enter, tho they could do but little Service, all the Streets being barred with Cables: But our Foot pressed the Enemy so close, that crowding to escape over the Water, they so over-loaded
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the Boats with their Numbers, that many of them were drowned. Great Riches were taken in this Town, it being accounted by the Enemy a Place of Strength; and some Ships were seized in the Harbour, which had much interrupted the Commerce of that Coast. Commissioners were appointed by the Lieutenant General to take care of the Goods that were found in the Town belonging to the Rebels, that they might be improved to the best Advantage of the Publick. After these Successes the Army grew sickly, many dying of the Flux, which they contracted by hard Service, and such Provisions as they were not accustomed to. The Plague also which had been for some time amongst the Inhabitants of the Country, and the Irish Army, now began to seize upon ours. Of one or both these Distempers Col. *Michael Jones*, who by his Courage and Conduct in the Service of his Country, had justly deserved the Applause of all, and had been lately made Lieutenant General of the Horse by the Parliament, fell so desperately sick, that being no longer able to continue in the Army, he was carried, not without Reluctancy, to *Wexford*, where in a few days he died, much lamented by the Army, and by all that desired the Prosperity of the English Interest. In the mean time the Parliament was careful to send Money, Recruits, and all manner of Supplies necessary to *Ireland*; which they were the better enabled to do by those
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great Sums of Money daily brought in by the Purchasers of the Lands of Deans and Chapters, which they thought fit for the Reasons before-mentioned to expose to sale; which as it was an Advantage to the Nation in general, by easing them of some part of their Contributions, so was it no Detriment to any of those Purchasers who were heartily engaged in the Publick Service; since if the Tide should turn, and our Enemies become prevalent, such Persons were likely to have no better Security for the Enjoyment of their own Paternal Estates. Upon this Consideration I contracted with the Trustees commissioned by the Parliament, for the Mannors of *Eastknoll* and *Upton* in the County of *Wilts*, wherein I employed that Portion which I had received with my Wife, and a greater Sum arising from the Sale of a part of my Patrimonial Estate.

The Winter approaching, and the Season being very tempestuous, General *Blake* was obliged to enter into Harbour, by which means Prince *Rupert* with the Ships that were with him having an Opportunity to escape, set sail for *Lisbon*, where they were received and protected; but General *Popham* who had waited some time for the *Portugal* Fleet bound thither from the Islands, took eighteen of them laden with Sugars and other valuable Merchandizes, which he sent to *England* under a Convoy, entrusting the Conduct thereof to my Brother, who, as I said before, was his Lieutenant, and

died in his Voyage homewards. With the rest he continued cruizing on the Coast of *Portugal*, attending Prince *Rupert's* Fleet, which being drawn up under the Protection of their Guns, and most of the Men on shore, ours took that occasion to seize one of their Frigats, by surprising the Watch, and keeping the rest of the Men under Deck; by which means they brought her off safe to the Fleet.

Our Army in *Ireland*, tho much diminished by Sickness and harassed by hard Duty, continued their Resolution to march into the Enemies Quarters, where they reduced *Rosse* with little Opposition: *Goran* also was surrendered to them, together with the Officers of that Place, by the Souldiers of the Garison, upon promise of Quarter for themselves; their Officers being delivered at Discretion, were shot to death. The next Town they besieged was *Kilkenny*, where there was a strong Castle, and the Walls of the Town were indifferent good: Having erected a Battery on the East-side of the Wall, our Artillery fired upon it for a whole Day without making any considerable Breach; on the other side our Men were much annoyed by the Enemies shot from the Walls and Castle. But the Garison being admonished by the Examples made of their Friends at *Tredah* and *Wexford*, thought fit to surrender the Town timely, upon such Conditions as they could obtain, which was done accordingly. *Toughall*, *Cork* and *Kinsale* were delivered to the Forces of the

Parliament by the Contrivance and Diligence of some Officers and well-affected Persons in those Places; and thereupon the Lieutenant General sent a Detachment under the Command of the Lord *Broghil* to their Assistance, in case any thing should be attempted by *Inchequin*, or any other, to their Disturbance; whilst he with the rest of the Army marched towards *Clonmel*. Being upon his March thither, he was met by the Corporation of *Feather*, with a Tender of their Submission, wherewith the Lieutenant General was so satisfied, the Army being far advanced into the Enemies Quarters, and having no place of Refreshment, that he promised to maintain them in the Enjoyment of their Priviledges. Having left our sick Men here, he marched and sat down before *Clonmel*, one side of which was secured by a River, and the rest of the Town encompassed with a Wall that was well furnished with Men to defend it. Our Guns having made a Breach in the Wall, a Detachment of our Men was ordered to storm; but the Enemy by the means of some Houses that stood near, and Earth works cast up within the Wall, made good their Breach till Night parted the Dispute, when the Enemy perceiving ours resolved to reduce the Place, beat a Parley, and sent out Commissioners to treat. Articles were agreed and signed on both sides, whereby it was concluded, that the Town with all the Arms and Ammunition therein, should be delivered by the next Morn-

ing to such of our Forces as should be appointed to receive the same. After this Agreement was made and signed, the General was informed that Col. *Hugh O Neal* Governour of the Place, with all the Garison, had marched out at the beginning of the Night towards *Waterford*, before the Commissioners came out to treat. It something troubled the Commanders to be thus over-reach'd; but Conditions being granted, they thought it their Duty to keep them with the Town. *Dungarvan* and *Carrick* were next reduced, where Col. *Reynolds* being left with his Regiment of Horse, the Lieutenant General with the Army marched towards the County of *Waterford*. The Enemy having observed ours marching on the other side of the River, took that Advantage to draw together a considerable Body of Horse and Foot, with which they marched with all diligence to *Carrick*, and stormed it, not at all doubting to carry the Place, wherein there was nothing but Horse, armed only with Swords and Pistols, to defend a Wall of great compass. Yet did our Men manage their Defence so well, making use of Stones and whatsoever might be serviceable to them, that the Enemy was beaten off with loss; so that tho Forces were sent from the Army to relieve their Friends upon the first notice of their Danger, yet they found the Work done at their Arrival.

The Army began now to prepare for the Siege of *Waterford*, but by the hard Service of
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this Winter, and other Accidents, being much diminished, and those that remained being but in a sickly Condition, it was thought fit to send Orders to *Dublin*, requiring the Forces there who were in better Health to march towards *Wexford* in order to reinforce the Army before *Waterford*. The Lord *Inchequin*, who had notice of their March, having formed a Body of two thousand five hundred Horse, and some Foot, resolved to fall upon them, which he did between *Ardo* and *Wexford*, our Forces not amounting to more than fifteen hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse. The Enemies charged our Horse with such Fury and Numbers, that they were forced to retreat to their Foot; after which falling upon our Foot, they obliged them to retire to the Rocks that were on the Shore in great Disorder: but some of our Horse, with a part of our Foot, rallying again, charged a Body of their Horse with such Vigour, that they broke them, and killed many of them, amongst whom were divers considerable Persons; which so discouraged the rest, that tho they were the choicest of the Enemies Men, and many of ours so distempered with the Flux, that they were forced to fight with their Breeches down, yet durst they not make any farther Attempt against them, but drew off and permitted ours to march to their designed Rendezvouz without any more Interruption. By which it eminently appeared of what Importance it is towards the obtaining Success, to

fight in the Cause of our Country ; for these very Men, as long as they were engaged with us, performed Wonders against the Rebels ; and now being engaged with them, were almost as easily overcome as they had beaten the Irish before : and this was so visible even to the Irish themselves, that sometime after at a Consultation of the chief Officers of *Leinster*, where it was debated what Course to take in order to destroy our Army, some advising to draw into a Body and fight us, others to betake themselves to the Woods and Bogs, and from thence to break our Forces by parties ; the Lord of *Glanmaleiro* assured them of a Way, which, if taken, would certainly effect it, and that was to induce us to make Peace with them ; for, said he, they are a successful Army, and our Men are dispirited, and not likely to get any thing by fighting with them ; and to weary them out by our Surprizes and Depredations is impossible, as long as the way from *England* is open for their Supplies ; but the other way proposed will infallibly ruin them : for did not our Ancestors by the same means render the Conquests of Queen *Elizabeth* fruitless to *England* ? and have we not thereby ruined the Earl of *Ormond* and *Inchequin* already, who having been always successful when against us, have been famous for nothing since their Conjunction with us, but the Losses and Repulses which they have sustained ? so that if we can persuade this Army to make a Truce or League with

with us, they will become as unfortunate as the former.

Whilst the Lieutenant General was making Preparations for the Siege of *Waterford*, a Letter was brought to him from the Parliament, requiring his Attendance in *England*: In order to which he left the Command of the Army with Commissary General *Ireton*, to carry on the remaining part of the Work; going himself to visit those Places in *Munster* which had lately submitted to the Parliament, with intention to settle the Civil as well as Military Affairs of that Province. To this end he impowered *John Coke* Esq; to be Chief Justice of *Munster*; and having accomplished such things as he designed, embarked for *England*, and soon after landed at *Bristol*. In the mean time the Treaty between Prince *Charles* and the Presbyterian Party in *Scotland* hastening towards a Conclusion, the Forces which they had raised by the Encouragement of our Army, after they had rescued them from the Power of the *Hamiltonian* Party, fell upon *Montrose*, killed many of his Men, and took him with divers other Officers Prisoners, and amongst them Major General *Hurry* and Capt. *Spotiswood*, who was said to have been concerned in the Assassination of Dr. *Dorilaus* our Agent in *Holland*. They were all three condemned to death, and hanged; *Montrose* being carried to the Place of Execution in an ignominious manner, with the Declarations issued out by him for the King

ried about his Neck, where he was executed on a Gibbet of thirty Foot high. His Quarters were placed upon the Gate through which their King was to pass at his coming to *Edinburgh*, which could not but move his Indignation, if he had the least Sense of Honour, because he had acted by his Commission, and in order to vest him with that absolute and uncontrollable Power which Kings think to be most for their Advantage: but the King being instructed with other Maxims, struck up the bargain with the Presbyterians, and engaged to take the Covenant, whereupon they cried him up for a great Convert.

Some Sycophants in the English Parliament, a Race of Men never wanting in great Councils, pressed earnestly for settling two thousand five hundred Pounds a Year upon the Lieutenant General, according to a Vote formerly passed in the House; or that it might at least be read once or twice before his Arrival at *Westminster*, he being then upon his way from *Bristol*. Upon this Motion I took the liberty to acquaint the House, that tho I would not oppose that Motion, yet it was but reasonable to make good their Promises also to Persons that had served them usefully in former occasions, desiring them to remember the past Services of those that they knew continued still to be faithful to them, tho not then in actual Employment; and particularly not to forget the important Services of Major General *Skippon*, nor the

the Vote they had passed to settle one thousand Pound a Year upon him, which hitherto had been insignificant to him. Upon this Motion the Parliament ordered that the said Sum should be paid yearly to him out of the Receipt at Goldsmiths-Hall, till so much should be settled upon him out of the forfeited Lands in *Ireland* by Act of Parliament. In consideration of this piece of Justice, the Major General did me ever after the Honour to call me his Real Friend.

And now the Parliament being desirous to let the People see that they designed not to perpetuate themselves after they should be able to make a compleat Settlement of Affairs, and provide for the Security of the Nation from Enemies both abroad and at home, whom they had yet in great Numbers to contend with, resolved that the House would upon every Wednesday turn themselves into a Grand Committee, to debate concerning the manner of Assembling, and Power of future successive Parliaments; the Number of Persons to be appointed to serve for each County, that the Nation might be more equally represented than hitherto had been practised; and touching the Qualifications of the Electors as well as those to be elected: which Order was constantly observed, and considerable Progress from time to time made therein.

The Lieutenant General being arrived, and having resumed his Place in the House, the Parliament ordered their Speaker to give him
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Thanks in their Name for the Services he had done for the Commonwealth in the Nation of *Ireland*. And now the Council of State concluding it highly necessary to make some Preparations against the Storm which threatned us from the North, and knowing that the Satisfaction of their General was of great Importance to that Service, desired the Lord *Fairfax* to declare his Resolution concerning the same, who after a day or two's Consideration, at the Instigation chiefly (as was thought) of his Wife, upon whom the Presbyterian Clergy had no small Influence, seemed unwilling to march into *Scotland*; but declared, that in case the Scots should attempt to invade *England*, he would be ready to lay down his Life in opposing them. We laboured to perswade him of the Reasonableness and Justice of our Resolution to march into *Scotland*, they having already declared themselves our Enemies, and by publick Protestation bound themselves to impose that Government upon us, which we had found necessary to abolish; and to that end had made their terms with Prince *Charles*, waiting only an Opportunity, as soon as they had strengthened themselves by foreign Assistance, which they expected, to put their Design in execution, after we should be reduced to great Difficulties incident to the keeping up of an Army in expectation of being invaded by them, assuring him, that we thought our selves indispensably obliged in Duty to our Country, and

as we tender the Peace and Prosperity of it, as well as to prevent the effusion of the Blood of those who had been, and we hoped upon better Information would be our Friends, to march into *Scotland*, and either to understand from them that they are our Friends, or to endeavour to make them so ; chusing rather to make that Country the Seat of the War than our own. But the Lord *Fairfax* was unwilling to alter his Resolution in consideration of any thing that could be said. Upon this Lieutenant General *Cromwell* pressed, that notwithstanding the Unwillingness of the Lord *Fairfax* to command upon this occasion, they would yet continue him to be General of the Army ; professing for himself, that he would rather chuse to serve under him in his Post, than to command the greatest Army in *Europe*. But the Council of State not approving that Advice, appointed a Committee of some of themselves to confer farther with the General in order to his Satisfaction. This Committee was appointed upon the Motion of the Lieutenant General, who acted his part so to the Life, that I really thought him in earnest ; which obliged me to step to him as he was withdrawing with the rest of the Committee out of the Council Chamber, and to desire him, that he would not in Compliment and Humility obstruct the Service of the Nation by his Refusal ; but the Consequence made it sufficiently evident that he had no such Intention. The Committee having spent some time in
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in Debate with the Lord *Fairfax* without any Success, returned to the Council of State, whereupon they ordered the report of this Affair to be made to the Parliament. Which being done, and some of the General's Friends informing them, that tho he had shewed some Unwillingness to be employed in this Expedition himself, yet being more unwilling to hinder the undertaking of it by another, he had sent his Secretary, who attended at the Door, to surrender his Commission, if they thought fit to receive it ; the Secretary was called in, and delivered the Commission, which the Parliament having received, they proceed to settle an annual Revenue of five thousand Pounds upon the Lord *Fairfax*, in consideration of his former Services, and then voted Lieutenant General *Cromwell* to be Captain General of all their Land Forces, ordering a Commission forthwith to be drawn up to that effect, and referred to the Council of State to hasten the Preparations for the Northern Expedition. A little after, as I sat in the House near General *Cromwell*, he told me, that having observed an Alteration in my Looks and Carriage towards him, he apprehended that I had entertained some Suspicions of him ; and that being perswaded of the Tendency of the Designs of us both to the Advancement of the Publick Service, he desired that a Meeting might be appointed, wherein we might with freedom discover the Grounds of our Mistakes and Misapprehensions,

prehenſions, and create a good Underſtanding between us for the future. I answered, that he had diſcovered in me what I had never perceived in my ſelf; and that if I troubled him not ſo frequently as formerly, it was either becauſe I was conſcious of that weight of Buſineſs that lay upon him, or that I had nothing to importune him withal upon my own or any other account; yet ſince he was pleaſed to do me the Honour to deſire a free Converſation with me, I aſſured him of my Readineſs therein. Whereupon we reſolved to meet that Afternoon in the Council of State, and from thence to withdraw to a private Room, which we did accordingly in the Queen's Guard-Chamber, where he endeavoured to perſwade me of the Neceſſity incumbent upon him to do ſeveral things that appeared extraordinary in the Judgment of ſome Men, who in oppoſition to him took ſuch Courſes as would bring Ruin upon themſelves, as well as him and the Publick Cauſe, affirming his Intentions to be directed entirely to the Good of the People, and profeſſing his Readineſs to ſacrifice his Life in their Service. I freely acknowledged my former Diſſatisfaction with him and the reſt of the Army, when they were in Treaty with the King, whom I looked upon as the only Obſtruction to the Settlement of the Nation; and with their Actions at the Rendezvouz at Ware, where they ſhot a Souldier to Death, and impriſoned divers others upon the account of that Treaty,

Treaty, which I conceived to have been done without Authority, and for sinister ends: yet since they had manifested themselves convinced of those Errors, and declared their Adherence to the Commonwealth, tho too partial a hand was carried both by the Parliament and themselves in the distribution of Preferments and Gratuities, and too much Severity exercised against some who had formerly been their Friends, and as I hoped would be so still, with other things that I could not entirely approve, I was contented patiently to wait for the accomplishment of those good things which I expected, till they had overcome the Difficulties they now laboured under, and suppressed their Enemies that appeared both at home and abroad against them; hoping that then their Principles and Interest should lead them to do what was most agreeable to the Constitution of a Commonwealth, and the Good of Mankind. He owned my Dissatisfaction with the Army whilst they were in Treaty with the King, to be founded upon good Reasons, and excused the execution done upon the Soldier at the Rendezvouz, as absolutely necessary to keep things from falling into Confusion; which must have ensued upon that Division, if it had not been timely prevented. He professed to desire nothing more than that the Government of the Nation might be settled in a free and equal Commonwealth, acknowledging that there was no other probable means to keep out the

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Old Family and Government from returning upon us; declaring, that he looked upon the Design of the Lord in this day to be the freeing of his People from every Burden, and that he was now accomplishing what was prophesied in the 110th Psalm; from the Consideration of which he was often encouraged to attend the effecting those Ends, spending at least an hour in the Exposition of that Psalm, adding to this, that it was his Intention to contribute the utmost of his Endeavours to make a thorow Reformation of the Clergy and Law: but, said he, the Sons of *Zeruah* are yet too strong for us; and we cannot mention the Reformation of the Law, but they presently cry out, We design to destroy *Propriety*: Whereas the Law, as it is now constituted, serves only to maintain the Lawyers, and to encourage the Rich to oppress the Poor; affirming that Mr. *Coke*, then Justice in *Ireland*, by proceeding in a summary and expeditious way, determined more Causes in a Week, than *Westminster-Hall* in a Year; saying farther, that *Ireland* was as a clean Paper in that Particular, and capable of being governed by such Laws as should be found most agreeable to Justice; which may be so impartially administered, as to be a good President even to *England* it self; where when they once perceive *Propriety* preserved at an easy and cheap rate in *Ireland*, they will never permit themselves to be so cheated and abused as now they are. At last he fell into the Consideration
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of the Military Government of *Ireland*, complaining that the whole Weight of it lay upon Major General *Ireton* ; and that if he should by Death or any other Accident be removed from that Station, the Conduct of that Part, would probably fall into the Hands of such Men as either by Principle or Interest were not proper for that Trust, and of whom he had no certain Assurance. He therefore proposed that some Person of Reputation and known Fidelity might be sent over to command the Horse there, and to assist the Major General in the Service of the Publick, that Employment being next in order to his own, desiring me to propose one whom I thought sufficiently qualified for that Station. I told him, that in my Opinion a fitter Man could not be found than Col. *Algernon Sidney* ; but he excepted against him by reason of his Relation to some who were in the King's Interest, proposing Col. *Norton* and Col. *Hammond*, yet making Objections against them at the same time : That against Col. *Hammond* I remember was, that by his late Deportment with relation to the King, he had so disoblighed the Army, that he apprehended he would not be acceptable to them. After this he entred upon a large Commendation of the Country, and pressed me earnestly to think of some Person capable of that Employment. By this time I perceived something of his Intentions concerning me ; but the Condition of my Affairs was such, having lately married, and by purchasing some

some Lands contracted a great Debt, that I resolved not to accept of it.

The time for the General's Departure for the Expedition of *Scotland* drawing near, he moved the Council of State, that since they had employed him about a Work which would require all his Care, they would be pleased to ease him of the Affairs of *Ireland*; which they refusing to do, he then moved, that they would at least send over some Commissioners for the Management of the Civil Affairs, assuring them also that the Military being more than Major General *Ireton* could possibly carry on, without the Assistance of some General Officer to command the Horse, which Employment was become vacant by the Death of the brave Lieutenant General *Jones*, it was absolutely necessary to commissionate some Person of Worth to that Employment, and to authorize him to be one of their Commissioners for the Civil Government; telling them, that he had endeavoured to find out a Person proper for that Service, and to that end had consulted with one there present, desiring him to recommend one fit for the same; but that neither of them had proposed any that he could approve so well as the Person himself, and therefore moved that he might be appointed to that Employment; acquainting them, that tho he himself was impowered by virtue of his Commission from the Parliament, to nominate the Lieutenant General of the Horse, yet because the Gentleman he proposed, upon

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which he named me, was a Member of Parliament, and of the Council of State, he desired for the better securing the Obedience of the Army to me, that the Parliament might be moved to nominate and appoint me to that Charge. I endeavoured as well as I could to make the Council sensible of my Unfitness for an Employment of so great Importance, acquainting them, that upon the General's Desire I had recommended one to him of such Abilities, as I doubted not they would judge better qualified for it than my self, who besides my want of Experience sufficient for that Service, was so incumbered with Debts and Engagements at that time, that I could not possibly undertake it without hazarding the Ruin of my Family and Estate. But the Council refused to allow my Excuse, which indeed was real and unfeigned; telling me, that it would be more proper to represent those things to the Parliament, when the Report should be made to them from the Council; which was agreed upon to this effect; *That the House should be moved to appoint me Lieutenant General of the Horse in Ireland; and that General Cromwell, Major General Ireton, my self, Col. John Jones, and Major Richard Salloway, or any three of us, should be authorized by Act of Parliament to be Commissioners for the Administration of the Civil Affairs in that Nation.* The News of this Transaction was unwelcome to some of my nearest Relations and best Friends, not only for
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the Reasons above-mentioned, but upon suspicion that this Opportunity was taken by the General to remove me out of the way, lest I should prove an Obstruction to his Designs. But I could not think my self so considerable, and therefore could not concur with them in that Opinion. Yet I endeavoured to clear my self of this Employment, and knowing that this Affair was carried on chiefly by the General's Influence, I applied my self to him, acquainting him with my present Circumstances, and assuring him that it was altogether inconvenient, and might prove very prejudicial to me. He replied, that Mens private Affairs must give place to those of the Publick; that he had seriously considered the Matter, and that he could not find a Person so fit for those Employments as my self, desiring me therefore to acquiesce. It was not many days before the Council of State made their Report of this Affair to the Parliament, where I again pressed the Reasons I had used before to the Council with as much Earnestness as I could: But they would not hearken to me, and without any Debate, presently concurred with the Council therein, with the addition only of Mr. *John Weaver*, a Member of the House, to be one of the Commissioners appointed to manage the Civil Government.

In the mean time our Army proceeded successfully in *Ireland*, where they reduced *Wexford* after a Siege of some Weeks; which

Place the Enemy had considerably fortified: but their Provisions failing, they were forced to surrender it upon Articles. During this Siege the Army was supplied with all Necessaries by some of our Ships that came into the Harbour to that end. After the reduction of *Waterford* a Detachment was made from our Army to besiege *Duncannon*, a Place of considerable Strength, having seven hundred Men within to defend it, tho one third of their Number had been sufficient for that purpose. This or some other Cause produced the Plague amongst them, which lessened their Number, and made their Provisions to hold out the longer: yet at last they were constrained to deliver up the Place with all the Arms and Ammunition to our Men. The Lord of *Esmond* had been Governour of this Place for the English at the beginning of the War, and held it out for the space of six or seven Months against the Rebels, of whom he killed great Numbers before it during the Siege that he sustained; but being driven to great Extremities, he was obliged to surrender it to them; which went so near the gallant old Gentleman's Heart, that he soon after departed this Life.

The next Place our Army attempted was *Carlo*, an inland Garison, distant from *Dublin* about thirty Miles, and lying upon the River *Barrow*. The Place was esteemed by the Enemy to be of great Importance, and therefore fortified by them with divers Works; besides,
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it had a small Castle at the foot of the Bridg, and a River running under the Walls of the Castle. The Country beyond it were also their Friends, and furnished them with Provisions in great abundance. To prevent which, Major General *Ireton* found it necessary to employ the principal part of his Forces on the other side of the River *Barrow*; yet by what means to secure a Communication between the two parts of his Army, was a great Difficulty, they having neither Boats nor Casks sufficient for that Purpose. In the end they fell upon this Expedient, to bring together great Quantities of the biggest Reeds, and tying them up in many little Bundles with small Cords, they fastened them to two Cables that were fixed in the Ground on each side of the River, at the distance of about eight or ten Yards from each other: These being covered with Wattles, bore Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot as well as a Bridg arched with Stone.

Whilst these things were doing, most of the Earl of *Ormond*'s Forces retired into *Connaught*, and those of the Lord *Muskerry* into *Kerry*: the Lord *Castlehaven* also when he had fired most of the small Castles in *Leinster* and *Munster*, marched out of those Parts.

But the Enemy which most threatned the Disturbance of the Parliament, was that of *Scotland*, where all Interests were united in opposition to the present Authority in *England*. They had also many who favoured their Design

in our Nation, as well **Dresbyterians** as **Cavaliers**: the former of these were most bold and active, upon presumption of more Favour in case of ill Success. The Parliament being sensible of these things, published a Declaration, shewing, that they had no Design to impose upon the Nation of *Scotland* any thing contrary to their Inclinations: That they would leave them to chuse what Government they thought most convenient for themselves, provided they would suffer the English Nation to live under that Establishment which they had chosen: That it evidently appeared that the Scots were acted by a Spirit of Domination and Rule; and that nothing might be wanting to compel us to submit to their Impositions, they had espoused the Interests of that Family, which they themselves had declared guilty of much precious Blood, and resolved to force the same upon *England*: That these and other things there mentioned had obliged them to send an Army into *Scotland* for their own Preservation, and to keep the Scots from destroying themselves, which they were about to do; resolving notwithstanding to extend all possible Favour to such as were seduced through Weakness, and misled by the Malice of others. After this General *Cromwell* hastened to the Army, which consisted of about twenty thousand Horse and Foot, where having removed a Colonel or two, with some inferior Officers, who were unwilling to be employed in that Service, and made
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up a Regiment for Col. *Monk*, with six Companies out of Sir *Arthur Haslerig's*, and six out of Col. *Fenwick's* Regiment, he marched into *Scotland* without any Opposition, most of the People being fled from their Habitations towards *Edinburgh*, whither all the Enemies Strength was drawn together. The English Army drew up within sight of the Town, but the Scots would not hazard all by the decision of a Battel, hoping to tire us out with frequent Skirmishes and harassing our Men, relying much upon the Unsuitableness of the Climate to our Constitutions, especially if they should detain us in the Field till Winter. Their Counsels succeeded according to their Desires, and our Army through hard Duty, scarcity of Provisions, and the Rigour of the Season, grew very sickly, and diminished daily, so that they were necessitated to draw off to receive Supplies from our Shipping, which could not come nearer to them than *Dunbar*, distant from *Edinburgh* about twenty Miles. The Enemy observing our Army to retire, followed them close; and falling upon our Rear-Guard of Horse in the Night, having the Advantage of a clear Moon, beat them up to our Rear-Guard of Foot. Which Alarm coming suddenly upon our Men, put them into some Disorder; but a thick Cloud interposing in that very Moment, and intercepting the Light of the Moon for about an Hour, our Army took that Opportunity to secure themselves, and arrived with-

out any further disturbance at *Dunbar*, where having shipped their heavy Baggage and sick Men, they designed to return into *England*. But the Enemies, upon Confidence of Success, had possessed themselves of all the Passes, having in their Army about thirty thousand Horse and Foot, and ours being reduced to ten Thousand at the most. There was now no way left, but to yield themselves Prisoners, or to fight upon these unequal Terms. In this Extremity a Council of War was called, and after some Dispute it was agreed to fall upon the Enemy the next Morning, about an Hour before Day, and accordingly the several Regiments were ordered to their respective Posts. Upon the first shock our Forlorn of Horse was somewhat disordered by their Lanciers; but two of our Regiments of Foot that were in the Van behaved themselves so well, that they not only sustained the Charge of the Enemies Horse, but beat them back upon their own Foot, and following them close, forced both Horse and Foot to retreat up the Hill from whence they had attacked us. The Body of the Enemies Army finding their Van-Guard, which consisted of their choicest Men, thus driven back upon them, began to shift for themselves, which they did with such Precipitation and Disorder, that few of them ventured to look behind them till they arrived at *Edinburgh*, taking no care of their King, who made use of the same means to secure himself as his new Subjects had done.

done. One Party of their Horse made a stand till some of ours came up to them, and then ran away after the rest of their Companions. Many were killed upon the Place, and many more in the Pursuit: All their Baggage, Arms, Artillery and Amunition fell into the hands of our Army: Many also were taken and sent Prisoners into *England*. When the first News of this great Victory was brought to *London* by Sir *John Hipsley*, it was my Fortune, with others of the Parliament, to be with the Lord *Fairfax* at *Hampton-Court*, who seemed much to rejoyce at it. But the Victory it self was not more welcome to me than the Contents of the General's Letter to the Parliament; wherein amongst many other Expressions favouring of a publick Spirit, there was one to this effect; That seeing the Lord, upon this solemn Appeal made to him by the Scots and us, had so signally given Judgment on our side, when all hopes of Deliverance seemed to be cut off, it became us not to do his Work negligently; and from thence took occasion to put us in mind, not to content our selves with the Name of a Commonwealth, but to do real things for the Common Good, and not to permit any Interest for their particular Advantage to prevail with us to the contrary. Our Army in *Scotland* having received some Recruits, advanced toward *Edinburgh*; but the Enemy being informed of their March, withdrew out of the Town, and leaving a strong Garison in the Castle, retreated

towards *Sterling*. The Parliament being very careful to supply their Armies with all things necessary, caused great Quantities of Hay to be bought up in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, which they sent by Sea to *Scotland*, where it was absolutely necessary, for the Scots Army had so strongly intrenched themselves by the Advantage of a Wood, that ours could not possibly attack them without great Hazard; and they were furnished with Provisions from *Fife* and the adjacent Parts, which are most fruitful in that Nation, by means of the Bridg at *Sterling*: whereas our Army, which lay encamped near them, had no other Country from whence they might draw Provisions, but such as had been already in the Possession of the Enemy: Besides that, Hay is generally scarce in *Scotland*; and that a great part of our Forces consisted of Horse.

Owen Roe O Neal, who commanded the old Northern Irish in *Ulster*, that had been principally concerned in the Massacre of the Protestants, being dead, the Popish Bishop of *Cloghar* undertook the Conduct of them, and being grown considerably strong, necessitated Sir *Charles Coote* to draw his Forces together to defend his Quarters, which they designed to invade, desperately resolving to put it to the issue of a Battel. Their Foot was more numerous than ours, but Sir *Charles* exceeded them in Horse. The Dispute was hot for some time; but at last the Irish were beaten, tho not without

out Loss on our side: Amongst others Col. *Fenwick*, a brave, and gallant Man, was mortally wounded. The Enemies Baggage and Train of Artillery was taken, tho not many made Prisoners, being for the most part put to the Sword, with the Bishop of *Cloghar* their General, whose Head was cut off and set upon one of the Gates of *London-derry*. The News of this Defeat being brought to those in *Carlo*, who had held out in hopes of Relief from their Friends in *Ulster*, together with a great scarcity of Provisions in the Place, besides the beating down of the little Castle that stood at the foot of the Bridge on the other side of the River, which happened about the same time, so discouraged those within, that they surrendered the Place to the Lord Deputy *Ireton* upon Articles; which he caused punctually to be executed, as his constant manner was.

Pursuant to the Order of Parliament, appointing me Lieutenant General of the Horse in *Ireland*, the General, as he was directed by the said Order, sent me a Commission to that end; which I received, and gave him an Account of the Reception, acquainting him also how sensible I was of my want of Experience to manage so weighty an Employment; but that on the other hand I would not fail to endeavour to discharge my Duty with the utmost Fidelity. He replied, that I might rely upon that God to carry me through the Work, who had called me to it; and in the Close of his Letter recommended

mended the procuring from the Parliament a Settlement upon Sir *Hardress Waller* of the Inheritance of some Lands which he then held by Lease from the Earl of *Ormond*, and for which he paid two hundred Pounds annual Rent, as a thing that might be proper for me to do before my Departure for *Ireland*. I was afterwards informed that Sir *Hardress Waller* had earnestly solicited for this Employment of Lieutenant General of the Horse in *Ireland*, and that the General not thinking it convenient to entrust him with it, yet unwilling he should know so much, perswaded him to believe that the Parliament had over-ruled him therein.

The Parliament then passed an Act, constituting Commissioners for the Administration of Civil Affairs in *Ireland*, and agreed upon Instructions of sufficient Latitude for them to act by, in particular to lay a Tax on that Nation not exceeding the Sum of thirty thousand Pounds: To give order for the distribution of Justice as near to the Rules of the Law, as the necessity of the Times would permit; and to consider of a Method of Proceeding in the Courts of Justice there, to be offered to the Parliament for their Approbation. The Commissioners were those that I mentioned before, only Major *Salloway* desiring to be excused from that Service, Mr. *Miles Corbet*, a Member of Parliament, was inserted in his room.

Some Suspicions there were at this time that the Presbyterian Party in *England*, especially those

those about *London*, entertained a private Correspondence with their Brethren in *Scotland*; where tho that Nation had received a great Blow at *Dunbar*, yet it was resolved that their King should be crowned upon his taking the Solemn League and Covenant, and obliging himself thereby to endeavour the extirpation of Popery and Episcopacy. This Action was performed with all the Circumstances and Solemnities that could be used in the Condition of their Affairs. The Nobility swore Fidelity to him, and the Marquis of *Argile* put the Crown upon his Head with his own Hands. And now having a King like other Nations, and a Covenanting King too, they doubted not of Success under his Conduct, presuming by this means most certainly to retrieve all their Losses and Reputation. But the Parliament who had removed one King, was not frightened with the setting up of another, and therefore proceeded in the Settlement of their Affairs both Military and Civil; and to that end ordered a thousand Pounds to be advanced to the Commissioners of the Civil Affairs in *Ireland*, directing them to receive also a thousand Pounds yearly. They likewise gave Orders for the payment of a thousand Pounds to me by way of Advance upon my Pay as Lieutenant General of the Horse, that I might be enabled to furnish my self with Tents, Horses, and other things necessary for that Service. The Committee of Irish Affairs raised also a Troop consisting of a hundred Horse

Horseto accompany me, and armed them with Back, Breast, Head-pieces, Pistols, and Musketoons, with two Months Pay advanced. The Lord Deputy *Iverson's* Lady, Daughter to General *Cromwell*, prepared to go over with us to her Husband, who had removed his Headquarters to *Waterford*, partly because he thought that Place most convenient for the Service, as the Enemy then lay; and partly from some Disgust conceived against *Dublin*, where the Inhabitants had extorted unreasonable Rates for their Provisions and other Necessaries sold to our Army at their Arrival there for the Relief of *Ireland*. Therefore resolving to pass through *South Wales*, I hastened out of Town before the rest of my Company, in order to take leave of my Friends in the West; and from thence going to *Glamorganshire*, I stayed there with some Relations of my Wife, till the rest of the Company came down.

Before I left the Parliament, some Difference happening between the Countess of *Rusland* and the Lord *Edward Howard* of *Esherick*, Col. *Gell*, who was a great Servant of the Countess, informed Major General *Harison* that the Lord *Edward Howard* being a Member of Parliament, and one of the Committee at *Haberdashers-Hall*, had taken divers Bribes for the excusing Delinquents from Sequestration, and easing them in their Compositions; and that in particular he had received a Diamond Hatband valued at eight hundred Pounds, from one Mr. *Compton*

Compton of Suffex ; concerning which he could not prevail with any to inform the Parliament. Major General *Harrison* being a Man of severe Principles, and zealous for Justice, especially against such as betrayed the Publick Trust reposed in them, assured him, that if he could satisfy him that the Fact was as he affirmed, he would not fail to inform the Parliament of it : and upon Satisfaction received from the Colonel touching that Matter, said in Parliament, That tho the Honour of every Member was dear to him, and of that Gentleman in particular, naming the Lord *Howard*, because he had so openly owned the Interest of the Commonwealth, as to decline his Peerage, and to sit upon the foot of his Election by the People ; yet he loved Justice before all other things, looking upon it to be the Honour of the Parliament, and the Image of God upon them ; that therefore he durst not refuse to lay this Matter before them, tho he was very desirous that the said Lord might clear himself of the Accusation. The Parliament having received his Information, referred the Consideration of the Matter to a Committee, where it was fully examined ; and notwithstanding all the Art of Counsel learned in the Law, who are very skilful at putting a good Appearance upon a bad Cause, and all the Friends the Lord *Howard* could make, so just and equitable a Spirit then governed, that the Committee having represented the Matter to the Parliament as they found it to be, they discharged

charged him from being a Member of Parliament, sent him to the Tower, and fined him ten thousand Pounds.

About the beginning of *January* the Commissioners of Parliament, the *Lady Ireton*, and my self, met at *Milford*, in order to embark for *Ireland*, three Men of War lying ready for us in the Harbour, with several Ships for the Transportation of my Troop, with our Goods and Horses. We came to *Milford* on Saturday, and on Monday following the *Lady Ireton* and the Commissioners set sail with a fair Wind, leaving the *Guinea-Frigat* for me, and to be Convoy to those Vessels that were appointed to transport the Horse and other things, of which but one could be ready time enough to set sail with them, my Troop being not yet mustered. The next day Mr. *Lort*, by order of the Committee of Parliament, mustered my Troop, so that I began to ship them on Wednesday in the Afternoon; and on Thursday Morning they being all embarked, we set sail, and tho the Weather proved very calm, we arrived the next day under the Fort of *Duncannon* near *Waterford*, where I understood, that the *Lady Ireton* and the Commissioners had landed there the day before, and were gone to the Lord Deputy at *Waterford*.

Immediately after my Arrival I went to wait on the Lord Deputy *Ireton*, who was much surprized at my landing so soon after the rest of the Company, and ordered good Quarters to be assigned

assigned to my Troop, that they might be refreshed before they entred upon Duty : for it was observed, that the English Horses were not so fit for Service, till they had been seasoned for some time with the Air and Provisions of that Country. Having received Advice that the Enemy was marched out of *Connaught* and *Limerick* towards our Quarters in *Munster*, he drew a Party of Horse and Foot out of their Winter-quarters, to which they had been lately sent, and with them endeavoured to find out the Enemy ; who upon his Advance, retreated into their own Quarters. The Deputy being returned, was very careful to prepare all things that were necessary for the Army, that they might be ready to march into the Field early the next Spring ; making Provision of Tents, Arms, Cloaths and Bread for the Souldiers ; sending Cannon and Ammunition of all sorts up the *Shannon* towards *Limerick* by Vessels provided to that end ; that being the first Place which he designed to attack the following Year, having in his last March, by putting Garisons into *Castle-Conel*, *Kilmallock*, and other Places, blocked them up in some measure.

The Commissioners of Parliament, of whom the Deputy was one, spent a considerable time in debating and resolving in what manner Justice should be administred for the present in each Precinct, till the State of Affairs could be reduced into a more exact Order ; and accounting it most just, that those who had the most

immediate Advantage by the War, should bear the principal Burden of it, they laid upon the Nation of *Ireland* a Tax proportionable to their Ability ; for the raising of which, together with the Excise and Customs that by our Authority from the Parliament we were impowered to impose, we appointed Commissioners for the Precincts of *Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Clonmel, Kilkenny* and *Ulster*, who were to proceed according to such Rules as they should receive from time to time from the Parliament's Commissioners. The Governour of each Precinct was appointed one of the Commissioners of that Precinct, Col. *Hewerson* being for *Dublin*, Sir *Charles Coote* and Col. *Venables* for *Ulster*, Col. *Daniel Axtel* for *Kilkenny*, Col. *Zanche* for *Clonmel*, Col. *Phaier* for the County of *Cork*, and Col. *Laurence* for the County of *Waterford*: They appointed Col. *Thomas Herbert* and Col. *Markham* to be Inspectors over the rest, and to go from place to place to see that their Instructions were put in execution. Commissioners were also appointed in the several Precincts for the more equal Distribution of Justice ; and a Proclamation was published, forbidding the killing of Lambs or Calves for the Year next ensuing, that the Country might recover a Stock again, which had been so exhausted by the Wars, that many of the Natives who had committed all manner of waste upon the Possessions of the English, were driven to such Extremities that they starved with Hunger ;

ger; and I have been informed by Persons deserving Credit, that the same Calamity fell upon them even in the first Year of the Rebellion, through the Depredations of the Irish; and that they roasted Men, and eat them, to supply their Necessities. In conjunction with this Evil they were also afflicted with the Plague, which was supposed to have been brought amongst them by a Ship from *Spain*, and bound to *Galway*, from whence the Infection spread it self through most Parts of the Country, and amongst others had reached *Waterford*, where several died of it, and particularly a Kinswoman of mine, who having been driven out of *Ireland* with her Husband and Children at the breaking out of the Rebellion, took the Opportunity to return thither with me, and died there, with one of her Children, very suddenly, having dined with me the day before. The Spring approaching; we removed to *Kilkenny*, that Place lying most convenient for the distribution of Tents, Clothes, and all other things necessary for the use of the Army: It was also near the Enemies Quarters, and thereby thought most proper to favour any Attempt against them from thence. Col. *Reynolds*, who returned from *England* with us, being made Commissary General of the Horse in *Ireland*, was sent with a Party into the *King* and *Queen's County*, and put a Garison into *Marriborough*, appointing Major *Owen* to be Governour of the Place. At his Return it was agreed that a Detachment

from *Nenagh*, where Col. *Abbot* commanded, another from *Casbit* and those Parts, and a third from *Kilkenny*, should march from their respective Garisons, and contrive it so as to fall upon the Quarters of Col. *Fitzpatrick* at the same time, which were advantageously situated, encompassed with Woods and Bogs, and inaccessible, except by three very narrow and difficult ways, by which they were ordered to attack him separately. This Enterprize was so well effected, that the Place was taken, with many of the Enemies Horse, besides a great number of Men killed or made Prisoners. At this time it happened, that Col. *Axtell*, than whom no Man was better acquainted with the Country of *Ireland*, was accused for not performing some Conditions said to have been promised to the Enemy, who pretended that after they had surrendred upon assurance of Mercy, they were all put to the Sword, except a few who made their Escape. The Colonel endeavoured to prove, that no Conditions had been granted; that they were taken by Force, and that they who had shewed no Mercy, could not deserve to receive any. Tho the Proof was not clear that he had promised them their Lives, yet because it appeared that some of the Soldiers had thrown out some Expressions tending that way to the Enemy, the Deputy was so great a Friend to Justice, even where an Enemy was concerned, that tho Col. *Axtell* was a Person extraordinarily qualified for the Service of
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that Conjunction ; he, together with the Council of War, at which the Commissioners of the Parliament were also present, suspended him from his Employment.

The Lord *Broghil*, who had conceived great hopes of obtaining the Command of the Horse, or at least to be made a General Officer, well knowing his own Merit, and thereupon thinking himself neglected, made his Complaint to the Deputy in a Letter directed to him, and sent unsealed in another to Adjutant General *Allen* ; wherein enumerating the Services he had done, the Losses he had sustained, and the slender Encouragements he had received, he declared his Resolution not to obey the Commands of any other but of General *Cromwell* and him. In answer to this, the Deputy by another Letter acquainted him, that he was sorry to find such a Spirit in him ; and particularly that he should discover it at such a time when the Season for Action was drawing on, desiring him to come to the Head-quarters, that they might confer together touching this Matter. At his coming the Deputy consulted with the Commissioners what Course to take in this Affair. I excused my self to them from giving my Advice, (his principal Objection being against me) telling them, I was convinced that he had some Ground for his Dissatisfaction, by reason of his Interest and Experience in the Country ; I being in those respects much inferior to him, and should not have had the

Confidence to have undertaken the Employment I possessed, but in pure Obedience to those who were in Authority. The Deputy assured me, that they were abundantly satisfied with the Clearness of my Proceeding, and no less of my Abilities to discharge the Trust reposed in me, and to perform the Duties of my Employments, of which he was pleased to say, I had given sufficient Demonstration, as well as of a constant and hearty Affection to the Publick Interest. In conclusion, the Debate concerning the Lord *Brogbill* was brought to this Question; Whether he should be wholly laid aside, or whether something should be done in order to content him for the present, by conferring upon him some Office of Profit, and the Title of a General Officer. The latter was agreed upon, and he declared Lieutenant General of the Ordinance in *Ireland*.

The Commissioners having settled Affairs as well as they could, and finding the Deputy to be employed in making all necessary Preparations for the ensuing Service, took that Opportunity to go to regulate Affairs at *Dublin*, where after they had dispatched the Publick Business, in which they spent about a Week, and provided Houses to receive their Families when they should arrive from *England*, they returned to *Kilkenny*. The Enemy, who had a Party of Horse in those Parts, had designed to surprize them in their way to *Dublin*, and again in their Return to us; but finding them attend-
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The Enemies Forces being retreated into *Connaught*, which Province was covered by the *Shannon*, and keeping strong Guards upon the Bridges and Fords of that River, the Reduction of *Limerick* could not well be expected till we had blocked them up on both sides. In order to which it was resolved, that Sir *Charles Coote*, who had with him between four and five thousand Horse and Foot, should march into *Connaught* by the way of *Ballyshannon*, a Passage on the side of *Ulster*, not far distant from the Sea; and Commissary General *Reynolds* was sent with his Regiment of Horse to his Assistance.

Col. *Axtell* and some others about this time going for *England*, were taken by a Pirate belonging to *Scilly*, whither they were all carried Prisoners: The Irish who were many in the Island, against whom Col. *Axtell* had been very active, and who had heard of the Charge lately exhibited against him, pressed hard for the taking away his Life. But upon consideration of the Preparations making by the Parliament to send a Fleet with Souldiers to reduce that Island, it was not thought convenient to attempt any thing against him, tho they had a strong Inclination to it, for fear of an exemplary Retaliation.

In the mean time the Parliament sent a Fleet with some Land-Forces to reduce the Isle of

Jersey, with the Castle which was kept by Sir *Philip Carteret* for Prince *Charles*. Col. *Haines* who comanded them, met with some Opposition at his landing ; but having brought his Men ashore, the Island generally submitted to the Parliament. The Castle having made some Resistance, was soon after surrendered also.

The Affairs of the Commonwealth being thus successful, and their Authority acknowledged by the Applications of Agents and Ambassadors from Foreign Nations to them, it was resolved to send some Ministers abroad to entertain a good Correspondence with our Neighbours, and to preserve the Interests of the Subjects of this Nation in those Parts. To that effect the Lord Chief Justice *St. Johns* was dispatched with the Character of Ambassador Extraordinary to the States of the *United Netherlands*, with whom Mr. *Walter Strickland*, our Resident there, was joined in Commission ; and to prevent such another Attempt as had been made upon our former Agent, forty Gentlemen were appointed to attend him for his Security and Honour, ten thousand Pounds being delivered to the Lord Ambassadors Steward for the Expence of the Embassy. Yet this great Equipage was not sufficient to prevent a publick Affront which was offered him by Prince *Edward*, one of the Palatine Family, as he was passing the Streets. But the Prince immediately retiring to some Place out of the Jurisdiction

risdiction of the States, secured himself from any Prosecution, tho they pretended upon the Complaint of our Ambassadors, that they were ready to do them what Right they could. The Negotiation of our Ministers, which was designed to procure a nearer Conjunction and Coalition between the two States, proved also ineffectual, the Province of *Holland* being not so much inclined to consent to it as was expected, and *Friseland*, with most of the rest of the Provinces, entirely against it ; presuming that such a Conjunction as was demanded would be no less than rendring those Countries a Province to *England* : So that our Ambassadors having used all possible means to succeed in their Business, and finding the Dutch unwilling to conclude with us whilst the King had an Army in the Field, returned to *England* without effecting any thing but the Expence of a great Sum of Money. This Disappointment sat so heavy upon the haughty Spirit of the Lord Chief Justice *St. Johns*, that he reported these Transactions with the highest Aggravations against the States, and thereby was a principal Instrument to prevail with the Council of State to move the Parliament to pass an Act prohibiting foreign Ships from bringing any Merchandizes into *England*, except such as should be of the Growth or Manufacture of that Country to which the said Ships did belong. This Law, tho just in it self, and very advantageous to the English Nation, was so highly resented by the Dutch,

Dutch, who had for a long time driven the Trade of *Europe* by the great Number of their Ships, that it soon proved to be the Ball of Contention between the two Nations.

During these Transactions, the Deputy of *Ireland* labouring with all diligence to carry on the Publick Service, ordered the Army to rendezvous at *Cashil*; from whence he marched by the way of *Nenagh* to that part of the River *Shannon* which lies over against *Killalo*, where the Earl of *Castlehaven* lay with about two thousand Horse and Foot, disposed along the side of the River, and defended by Breast-works cast up for their Security, resolving to endeavour to obstruct our Passage into *Connaught*. The Deputy, as if he had intended to divert the Course of the River; set the Souldiers and Pioneers at work to take the Ground lower on our side, that the Water venting it self into the Passage, the River might become fordable; which so alarmed the Enemy, that they drew out most of their Men to oppose us. Whilst they were thus amused, the Deputy taking me with him, and a Guard of Horse, marched privately by the side of the *Shannon*, in order to find a convenient place to pass that River. The ways were almost impassable by reason of the Bogs, tho Col. *Reeves* and others who commanded in those Parts had repaired them with Hurdles as well as they could. Being advanced about half way from *Killalo* to *Castle-Conel*, we found a place that answered our Desires, where

a Bridge had formerly been, with an old Castle still standing at the foot of it on the other side of the River. We took only a short view of the Place, lest we should give occasion to the Enemy to suspect our Design. The way hither from our Camp was so full of Bogs, that neither Horse nor Man could pass without great Danger, so that we were necessitated to mend them, by laying Hurdles and great pieces of Timber a cross in order to bear our Carriages: which we did under pretence of making a passable way between our Camp and *Castle-Cornel*, a Garison of ours, where Provisions were laid up for the Army. It was about ten days before all things necessary to this Design could be prepared, and then Col. *Reeves* was commanded to bring three Boats which he had to a place appointed for that purpose, by one a Clock in the Morning. At the beginning of the Night three Regiments of Foot, and one of Horse, with four Pieces of Cannon, marched silently towards the place where the Boats were ordered to lie, and arrived there an hour before day. They found but two Boats waiting for them, yet they served to carry over three Files of Musqueteers and six Troopers, who having unsaddled their Horses, caused them to swim by the Boat, and were safely landed on the other side. Two Sentinels of the Enemy were in the Castle, of whom one was killed by our Men, and the other made his Escape. Our Boats had transported about sixty Foot and twenty Horse before

fore any Enemy appeared ; but then some of their Horſe coming up skirmiſhed with ours, wherein one Mr. *How*, a hopeful daring young Gentleman, who had accompanied me into *Ireland*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf. About a thouſand of the Enemies Foot advancing, our Horſe was commanded to retire, which they did, not without ſome Reluctancy ; but the haſty March of their Foot was retarded by our Guns which we had planted on a Hill on our ſide of the River, from whence we fired ſo thick upon them, that they were forced to retreat under the ſhelter of a riſing Ground ; where after they had been a while, and conſidered what to do, finding ours coming over apace to them, inſtead of attacking us, they began to think it high time to provide againſt our falling upon them ; and having ſent to all their Guards upon the River to draw off, they retreated farther through the Woods into their own Quarters. We were no ſooner got over the River, but we received advice that Sir *Charles Coote* and Commiſſary General *Reynolds* were entred into *Connaught*, and advanced as far as *Athenree*. Our Ships were alſo come up the River of *Limerick* with our Artillery, Ammunition, Proviſions, and all things neceſſary for the Siege of *Limerick*. And now the Deputy thinking himſelf abundantly provided for the Reduction of that important Place, and not knowing what Neceſſities the Party with Sir *Charles Coote* might be driven to, the chief of the Enemies Strength being drawn
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that way, he resolved to send a Party of Horse to him. But not being able to spare above a thousand Horse for that Service, he was unwilling to desire me to command them, tho he had no Person with him that he could conveniently make use of therein, most of the Colonels of Horse being employed in their respective Precincts to secure them from the Incursions of the Enemies. This I perceived, and offered to march with them: whereupon the Deputy furnished me with three Majors, who were Major *Warden* of my own Regiment of Horse, Major *Owen* of the Regiment of Commissary General *Reynolds*, and Major *Bolton* of a Regiment of Dragoons, a brave and diligent Officer. We began our March about five in the Afternoon, and by twelve at Night having marched between sixteen and seventeen Miles, we dismounted to forage our Horses, and rest our selves. Before day we mounted and continued our March through a desolate Country, the People being fled, and no Provisions to be had but what we carried with us. About ten in the Morning our Forlorn perceived a *Creaght*, as the Country People call it, where half a dozen Families with their Cattle were got together. Some of those who saw them first, presuming all the Irish in that Country to be Enemies, began to kill them; of which having notice, I put a stop to it, and took a share with them of a Pot of sour Milk, which seemed to me the most pleasant Liquor that ever I drank.

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jurisdiction of the States, secured himself from any Prosecution, tho they pretended upon the Complaint of our Ambassadors, that they were ready to do them what Right they could. The Negotiation of our Ministers, which was designed to procure a nearer Conjunction and Coalition between the two States, proved also ineffectual, the Province of *Holland* being not so much inclined to consent to it as was expected, and *Friseland*, with most of the rest of the Provinces, entirely against it; presuming that such a Conjunction as was demanded would be no less than rendering those Countries a Province to *England*: So that our Ambassadors having used all possible means to succeed in their Business, and finding the Dutch unwilling to conclude with us whilst the King had an Army in the Field, returned to *England* without effecting any thing but the Expence of a great Sum of Money. This Disappointment sat so heavy upon the haughty Spirit of the Lord Chief Justice *St. Johns*, that he reported these Transactions with the highest Aggravations against the States, and thereby was a principal Instrument to prevail with the Council of State to move the Parliament to pass an Act prohibiting foreign Ships from bringing any Merchandizes into *England*, except such as should be of the Growth or Manufacture of that Country to which the said Ships did belong. This Law, tho just in it self, and very advantageous to the English Nation, was so highly resented by the Dutch,

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During these Transactions, the Deputy of *Ireland* labouring with all diligence to carry on the Publick Service, ordered the Army to rendezvous at *Cashil*; from whence he marched by the way of *Nenagh* to that part of the River *Shannon* which lies over against *Killalo*, where the Earl of *Castlehaven* lay with about two thousand Horse and Foot, disposed along the side of the River, and defended by Breast-works cast up for their Security, resolving to endeavour to obstruct our Passage into *Connaught*. The Deputy, as if he had intended to divert the Course of the River; set the Souldiers and Pioneers at work to take the Ground lower on our side, that the Water venting it self into the Passage, the River might become fordable; which so alarmed the Enemy, that they drew out most of their Men to oppose us. Whilst they were thus amused, the Deputy taking me with him, and a Guard of Horse, marched privately by the side of the *Shannon*, in order to find a convenient place to pass that River. The ways were almost impassable by reason of the Bogs, tho Col. *Reeves* and others who commanded in those Parts had repaired them with Hurdles as well as they could. Being advanced about half way from *Killalo* to *Castle-Conel*, we found a place that answered our Desires, where

so close, that by means of some Ladders which those within had made use of, they got into the Court, and put to the Sword most of those they found there, the Enemy not daring to open the Gate to receive their Friends. Those of ours who had entred the Court, having no Instruments to force the House, made use of a wooden Bar which they found, and with which they wrested out the Iron Bars of a strong stone Window about six Foot from the Ground, and forced the Enemy by their Shot out of that Room, where being entred, they put to the Sword those that were there. Lieutenant *Fo-*
lar finding his Case desperate, resolved to sell his Life at as dear a rate as he could, and charged our Men, who were nine or ten in number, with a Tuck in one hand, and a Scillette in the other, defending himself so well with the one, and pressing them so hard with the other, that they all gave ground; but he closing with one of them whom he had wounded, and probably might have killed, gave an opportunity to another to run him through the Body, by which Wound he fell, and the House was quickly cleared of the rest. Most of the Principal of the Enemies being got into the Castle, our Men fired a great number of Fagots at the Gates, which burned so furiously, that the Flame took hold of the Floors and other Timber within, through the Iron Grate, which being perceived by those in the Castle, they hung out a white Flag, begging earnestly for Mercy, and that

fore any Enemy appeared ; but then some of their Horse coming up skirmished with ours, wherein one Mr. *How*, a hopeful daring young Gentleman, who had accompanied me into *Ireland*, distinguished himself. About a thousand of the Enemies Foot advancing, our Horse was commanded to retire, which they did, not without some Reluctancy ; but the hasty March of their Foot was retarded by our Guns which we had planted on a Hill on our side of the River, from whence we fired so thick upon them, that they were forced to retreat under the shelter of a rising Ground ; where after they had been a while, and considered what to do, finding ours coming over apace to them, instead of attacking us, they began to think it high time to provide against our falling upon them ; and having sent to all their Guards upon the River to draw off, they retreated farther through the Woods into their own Quarters. We were no sooner got over the River, but we received advice that Sir *Charles Coote* and Commissary General *Reynolds* were entred into *Connaught*, and advanced as far as *Athenree*. Our Ships were also come up the River of *Limerick* with our Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions, and all things necessary for the Siege of *Limerick*. And now the Deputy thinking himself abundantly provided for the Reduction of that important Place, and not knowing what Necessities the Party with Sir *Charles Coote* might be driven to, the chief of the Enemies Strength being drawn
that

that way, he resolved to send a Party of Horse to him. But not being able to spare above a thousand Horse for that Service, he was unwilling to desire me to command them, tho he had no Person with him that he could conveniently make use of therein, most of the Colonels of Horse being employed in their respective Precincts to secure them from the Incursions of the Enemies. This I perceived, and offered to march with them: whereupon the Deputy furnished me with three Majors, who were Major *Warden* of my own Regiment of Horse, Major *Owen* of the Regiment of Commissary General *Reynolds*, and Major *Bolton* of a Regiment of Dragoons, a brave and diligent Officer. We began our March about five in the Afternoon, and by twelve at Night having marched between sixteen and seventeen Miles, we dismounted to forage our Horses, and rest our selves. Before day we mounted and continued our March through a desolate Country, the People being fled, and no Provisions to be had but what we carried with us. About ten in the Morning our Forlorn perceived a *Creaght*, as the Country People call it, where half a dozen Families with their Cattle were got together. Some of those who saw them first, presuming all the Irish in that Country to be Enemies, began to kill them; of which having notice, I put a stop to it, and took a share with them of a Pot of sour Milk, which seemed to me the most pleasant Liquor that ever I drank.

In

ing received an Answer to my Letter from Sir Charles Coote, I sent it to them, telling them, that now I expected their Obedience ; but instead of that they sent me a Defiance, and sounded their Bagpipes in contempt of us ; to which they were chiefly encouraged by one of the Country, whom I had sent to bring in to me some Iron Bars, Sledges, and Pickaxes, and who under colour of going to fetch them, ran away to the Enemy, and acquainted them with our want of Artillery and Instruments to force them. I gave Orders to take up all the Horses from Grass, to bridle and saddle them, and to tie them to the Tents of their respective Troops, commanding two Troops to mount the Guard, and to send out Scouts to discover if any Enemy were near. The rest of the Men I drew into several Parties, and assigned them their particular Attacks : Every Souldier carried a Fagot before him, as well to defend himself, as to fill up the Enemes Trenches, or to fire the Gares, as there should be occasion. On one side of the Wall there was an Earth-work about eleven Foot high, with a Trench of equal breadth without. The Wall of the Court was about twelve Foot high, well flanked. On the other side the Place was secured by a River. Upon our first Approach the Enemy shot very thick upon us, and killed two of our Men, which so enraged the rest, that they ran up to the Works, and helping one another to the top of them, beat off the Enemy, following them

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we would take away the Fire. I commanded my Men to leave shooting, and acquainted the Besieged, that if they expected any Favour from us, they must throw down their Arms, which they presently did: Whereupon I ordered the Fire to be taken away, and gave a Souldier twenty Shillings to fetch out two Barrels of Powder that was near the Fire, which continued to burn so fiercely, that we could not put it out, but were obliged to throw up Skains of Match into the Chambers, by which those in the Castle descended to us, being about fourscore in number, besides many Women and Children. We secured the Men till the next Morning, when I called a Council of War; and being pressed by the Officers, that some of the Principal of them might be punished with Death for their Obstinacy, I consented to their Demand, provided it might not extend to such as had been drawn in by the Malice of others. Those who were Tenants to Sir *Dermot O Shortness*, and Country-men, I dismissed to their Habitations, upon promise to behave themselves peaceably, and to engage against us no more: the rest of them we carried away with us. Whilst we were spending our time in sending to Sir *Charles Coote*, and expecting his Answer, I had sent a Party of Horse to find out some of the Enemies that were marched towards the Barony of *Burren*; and tho they could not overtake them, yet they met with four or five hundred Head of Cattle, and seized them,

them, which proved a great Refreshment to our Party, and to the Army that was besieging *Limerick*, whither we returned, and gave an Account of our Proceedings to the Deputy, who expressed himself well satisfied with the same.

At my Return I found that our Army had possessed themselves of one of the Enemies Forts that stood in the midst of the *Shannon* upon the *Fishing Ware*, in this manner. A small Battery of two Guns being erected against it, one of them was fired into a Room, and breaking the Leg of a Souldier there, so frightened the rest, that betaking themselves to their Boats, they abandoned the Place; which ours perceiving, fired so thick upon them with their Shot, that all those who were in one of the Boats, whether moved by Fear or Promise of Life I know not, surrendered to our Men; yet some of them were put to the Sword, at which the Deputy was much troubled, judging that they would not have quitted the means they had in their hands for their Preservation, but upon Terms of Advantage, and therefore referred the Matter to be examined by a Court Martial.

Those in the Town having considered of the Summons sent to them by the Deputy for the Surrender of the Place, agreed to treat concerning Articles, supposing that they might obtain more favourable Conditions than when they should be driven to Extremities. Accordingly six Commissioners were appointed on

each side. Those for the Enemy were Major General *Parcel*, Mr. *Stockdale* Recorder of the Town, Col. *Butler*, *Jeffrey Barrow*, who had been one of their *Supreme Council*, Mr. *Baggot*, and one more, whose Name I do not remember. The Commissioners nominated by the Deputy were Major General *Waller*, Col. *Cromwell*, Major *Smith*, Adjutant General *Allen*, my self, and one more, whom I have also forgot. We met them in a Tent placed between the Town and our Camp, where we dined together, and treated of Conditions for several days; but they having great Expectations of Relief, either by the King's Success against us in *Scotland*, or by the drawing together of their own Parties in *Ireland*, who were able to form an Army more numerous than ours, insisted upon such excessive Terms, that the Treaty was broken up without coming to any Conclusion. The Fort which we were preparing in order to block them up on one side of the Town being almost finished, and Materials ready for building a Bridge to be laid over the *Shannon* to preserve a Communication between our Forces on each side, we resolved to endeavour the Reduction of a Castle possessed by the Enemy, and standing beyond their Bridge. To that end a Battery was erected, and a Breach being made, the Deputy remembering the Vigour of the Troopers in the Action at *Gourten-shogore*, desired that one might be drawn out of each Troop to be an Example to the Foot that were

were to storm : which being done, they were armed with Back, Breast, and Head-piece, and furnished with Hand-Granadoes. One Mr. *Hacket*, a stout Gentleman of the Guard, was made choice of to lead them on, who were in all not above twenty. This Design succeeded beyond Expectation ; for our Men having thrown in their Granadoes, marched up to the Breach, and entred with Mr. *Hacket* at the Head of them, being followed by those who were ordered to sustain them. The Enemy not being able to stand before them, quitted the Place, and retired by the Bridge into the Town. The Castle was immediately searched, and four or five Barrels of Powder were found in a Vault ready to take fire by a lighted Match left there by the Enemy on purpose to blow up our Men. The Deputy gave Mr. *Hacket* and the rest of the Troopers a Gratuity for their good Service, and upon the Encouragement of this Success, formed a Design to possess himself of an Island that lay near the Town, containing about forty or fifty Acres of Ground, and encompassed by the River: In order to which Boats were prepared, and Floats sufficient to transport three hundred Men at once, and Orders given to fall down the River about Midnight. Three Regiments of Foot and one of Horse were appointed to be wasted over. The first three hundred, being all Foot, were commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Walker*, who being landed on the Island with his Men, marched up to the

Enemies Breast-work, which they had cast up quite round the Place; but they having discovered our Men before their Landing, had drawn most of their Forces together to oppose them; so that being oppressed by the Enemies Numbers, they were most of them forced into the Water, and all either killed or drowned, except two or three only who came back to the Camp. Our Bridg being finished, and a small Fort to defend it erected at the foot of it, the Deputy, with most part of the Army, marched over to the other side of the River, where he marked out Ground for three Bodies of Men to encamp separately, each to consist of about two thousand, giving Orders for the fortifying of those Places, assigning to each Regiment their Proportion, and quartering them by Brigades in the most convenient manner he could, either to defend themselves, to relieve each other, or to annoy the Enemy: and as soon as the great Fort on which our Men had been long working was rendred defensible, he drew off all our Forces from this side of the River, except a thousand Foot, and about three hundred Horse.

In the meantime the Enemy was endeavouring to draw their Forces together to relieve the Place, well knowing of what Importance it was to their Affairs. To that end the Lord *Muskerry* had brought together about five thousand Horse and Foot in the Counties of *Cork* and *Kerry*, and *David Rook* between two or three

three thousand more in the County of *Clare*. The Lord *Broghil* and Major *Wallis* were sent to oppose the Lord *Muskerry*, whilst I with another Detachment was ordered to look after the other. The Lord *Broghil* soon met with the Lord *Muskerry*, and after some Dispute entirely defeated him, killing many of the Irish, and taking others Prisoners, with little loss on our side. I passed the River at *Inchecroghnan*, of which the Enemy having Advice, drew off their Forces from *Caricobolt*, a Garison of ours, which they were besieging, whereby Capt. *Lucas*, who was Governour of the Place, wanting Provisions, took that opportunity to quit it; and being joined by Capt. *Taff's* Dragoons, came safe to us. Whilst I was endeavouring to find out the Enemy, Advice was brought to me, that they, to the number of three thousand Horse and Foot, were marching with all diligence to possess themselves of the Pass at *Inchecroghnan*, thereby designing to obstruct our Return to the Army before *Limerick*: which being confirmed by a Letter we intercepted, I drew out two hundred and fifty Horse with sixty Dragoons, and sent them before, with Orders to take possession of the Pass, marching after them with the rest of my Party. When I was almost come to the Pass, I was informed by those sent before, that they had found a small number of the Enemies Horse there, who immediately retreated upon the advance of our Men, some of whom were in pursuit of them.

Presently after Advice was brought, that the Enemy had made good a Pass leading to some Woods and Bogs which they used for a Retreat; whereupon I went to take a view of their Posture, that if it were necessary I might order a greater Force to succour our Men. Being come up to the Place where the Dispute was, I found that *Connor O Brian*, deputed by the Lord *Inchequin* to command in the County of *Clare*, had been shot from his Horse, and carried away by his Party. The Enemy retreated to a Pass, and fired thick upon us; but we advancing within Pistol-shot of them, they quitted their Ground, and betook themselves to their Woods and Bogs. Divers of them were killed in the Pursuit; yet the Ground was so advantagious to them, and their Heels so good, that tho we pursued them with all possible diligence, and sent out Parties several ways, yet we could not take above two or three of them Prisoners. Having dispersed this Party, and relieved the Garison of *Carigobolt*, I returned to the Army before *Limerick*, where I found a considerable Progress made in our Works on the other side of the Town, and a Reinforcement from *England* of between three and four thousand Foot, whose Arrival was very seasonable and welcome to us, having lost many Men by hard Service, change of Food, and alteration of the Climate. The Deputy fearing that the Plague, which raged fiercely in *Limerick*, might reach our Army; and to the

the end that care might be taken of our sick and wounded Men, caused an Hospital to be prepared, and furnished with all things necessary; and whilst the Works were finishing against the Town, he went to visit the Garison of *Killalo*, and to order a Bridg to be made over the River at that Place, for the better Communication of the Countries of *Tipperary* and *Clare*. I accompanied him in this Journey, and having passed all Places of Danger, he left his Guard to refresh themselves, and rode so hard that he spoiled many Horses, and hazarded some of the Men; but he was so diligent in the Publick Service, and so careless of every thing that belonged to himself, that he never regarded what Cloaths or Food he used, what Hour he went to rest, or what Horse he mounted.

In the mean time our Army in *Scotland* lying near the Enemies Camp at *Torwood*, who were plentifully furnished with Provisions from the County of *Fife*, it was resolved that a Party of ours, commanded by Colonel *Overton*, should be sent in Boats from *Leith* and *Edinburgh* into that County, to contrive some way to prevent the Enemies Supplies from thence. This Party was followed by four Regiments of horse and Foot commanded by Major General *Lambert*. Of which the Enemy having notice, sent Sir *John Brown*, who was esteemed to be a Person of Courage and Conduct, with part of their Army.

Dutch, who had for a long time driven the Trade of *Europe* by the great Number of their Ships, that it soon proved to be the Ball of Contention between the two Nations.

During these Transactions, the Deputy of *Ireland* labouring with all diligence to carry on the Publick Service, ordered the Army to rendezvous at *Cashil*; from whence he marched by the way of *Nenagh* to that part of the River *Shannon* which lies over against *Killalo*, where the Earl of *Castlehaven* lay with about two thousand Horse and Foot, disposed along the side of the River, and defended by Breast-works cast up for their Security, resolving to endeavour to obstruct our Passage into *Connaught*. The Deputy, as if he had intended to divert the Course of the River, set the Souldiers and Pioneers at work to take the Ground lower on our side, that the Water venting it self into the Passage, the River might become fordable; which so alarmed the Enemy, that they drew out most of their Men to oppose us. Whilst they were thus amused, the Deputy taking me with him, and a Guard of Horse, marched privately by the side of the *Shannon*, in order to find a convenient place to pass that River. The ways were almost impassable by reason of the Bogs, tho Col. *Reeves* and others who commanded in those Parts had repaired them with Hurdles as well as they could. Being advanced about half way from *Killalo* to *Castle-Connell*, we found a place that answered our Desires, where

a Bridge had formerly been, with an old Castle still standing at the foot of it on the other side of the River. We took only a short view of the Place, lest we should give occasion to the Enemy to suspect our Design. The way hither from our Camp was so full of Bogs, that neither Horse nor Man could pass without great Danger, so that we were necessitated to mend them, by laying Hurdles and great pieces of Timber a cross in order to bear our Carriages: which we did under pretence of making a passable way between our Camp and *Castle-Conel*, a Garison of ours, where Provisions were laid up for the Army. It was about ten days before all things necessary to this Design could be prepared, and then Col. *Reeves* was commanded to bring three Boats which he had to a place appointed for that purpose, by one a Clock in the Morning. At the beginning of the Night three Regiments of Foot, and one of Horse, with four Pieces of Cannon, marched silently towards the place where the Boats were ordered to lie, and arrived there an hour before day. They found but two Boats waiting for them, yet they served to carry over three Files of Musqueteers and six Troopers, who having unsaddled their Horses, caused them to swim by the Boat, and were safely landed on the other side. Two Sentinels of the Enemy were in the Castle, of whom one was killed by our Men, and the other made his Escape. Our Boats had transported about sixty Foot and twenty Horse before

that were on the other side of the River, who with some Forces of the Army, and a Reinforcement of the Militia made a vigorous Resistance. The General fearing he might be overpower'd, dispatch'd some Troops to his Assistance by a Bridg laid over the River, commanding Major General *Lambert* to send another Detachment to the same purpose ; but he desired to be excused, alledging, that if the Enemy should alter their Course, and fall upon those on this side, they might probably cut off all that remained : which was not unlikely, for soon after most of the Enemies Strength fell upon that part of the Army where the General and Major General *Lambert* were. The Battle was fought with various Success for a considerable time ; but at length the Scots Army was broken, and quitting their Ground, retreated in great Disorder to the Town, where they endeavoured to defend themselves. Major General *Harrison*, Col. *Croxton*, and the Forces of *Cheshire*, entred the Place at their Heels ; and being followed by the rest of the Army, soon finished the Dispute, and totally defeated the Enemy. Three English Earls, seven Scots Lords, and above six hundred Officers, besides ten thousand private Souldiers, were made Prisoners. The King's Standard, and a hundred fifty eight Colours, with all their Artillery, Ammunition and Baggage, was also taken. On our side, Quarter-master General *Mosely*, and Captain *Jones*, with about a hundred private Soul-

Souldiers, were killed, and Cap. *Howard*, with one Captain more, and about three hundred Souldiers wounded. This Victory was obtained by the Parliament's Forces on the 3^d of *September*, being the same Day of the same Month that the Scots had been defeated at *Dunbar* the preceding Year. Col. *Massey* escaped into *Leicestershire*, but being dangerously wounded, found himself not able to continue his way, and fearing to be knock'd on the head by the Country, delivered himself to the Countess of *Stamford*, Mother to the Lord *Grey of Grooby*, who caused his Wounds to be carefully dressed, and sent notice of his Surrender to the Army. Whereupon a Party was dispatched with Orders to conduct him from thence to *London*, as soon as he should befit to travel, which was done, and he committed Prisoner to the Tower. The Scots King with the Lord *Wilmot* were concealed by three Country-men, till they could furnish him with a Horse, with which he crossed the Country to one Mr. *Gunter's* near *Shoreham* in *Sussex*, carrying one Mrs. *Lane* behind him, from whence in a small Bark he escaped to *France*.

The General after this Action, which he called the Crowning Victory, took upon him a more stately Behaviour, and chose new Friends; neither must it be omitted, that instead of acknowledging the Services of those who came from all Parts to assist against the Common Enemy, tho he knew they had deserved as much

much Honour as himself and the standing Army, he frowned upon them, and the very next day after the Fight dismissed and sent them home, well knowing, that a useful and experienced Militia was more likely to obstruct than to second him in his ambitious Designs. Being on of his way to *London*, many Members of the Parliament, attended by the City, and great numbers of Persons of all Orders and Conditions, went some Miles out of the Town to meet him, which tended not a little to heighten the Spirit of this haughty Gentleman.

Lieutenant General *Monk*, whom the General had raised to that Employment, and ordered to command in *Scotland* during his Absence, took *Starling Castle*; and then marched with about four thousand Horse and Foot before *Dundee*. But being advised that General *Lesley*, the Earl of *Crawford*, and others, were met at *Elliot* to consult of means to relieve that Town, he sent a Party of Horse and Dragoons commanded by Col. *Alured* and Col. *Morgan*, to surprize them, which they did; and the principal of them being taken, were sent Prisoners to *London*, where they were committed to the Tower. After this he summoned the Town of *Dundee*; but the Place being well fortified, and provided with a numerous Garison, refused to surrender; whereupon he storm'd it, and being entred, put five or six hundred to the Sword, and commanded the Governour, with divers others, to be killed in cold Blood.

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Tho' the News of these Successes much discouraged our Enemies in *Ireland*, yet those in *Limerick* were not without some hopes, that either the Plague, or Scarcity of Provisions, together with the badness of the Weather, might constrain us to raise the Siege; and therefore refused to accept such Conditions as we were willing to grant. The Line which we had made about the Town, and the Forts being in a condition of Defence; the Deputy resolved to look after the Enemy in the County of *Clare*, and if Possible to get some Provisions from thence for the Relief of the Army. He took me with him, knowing I had been in those Parts before, and between three or four thousand Horse and Foot. At our Approach to the Places where the Enemies usually were, we divided our Body, the Deputy being at the Head of one, and I at the Head of the other Party; hoping by this means so to encompass the Enemy, that they should not escape us: but tho' we sometimes came within sight of them, and used our utmost Endeavours to engage them, yet by reason of the Advantages they made of the Woods, Rocks, Hills, and Bogs, for their Retreat, we could do them little hurt, save by seizing their Horses and Cattel. In the absence of this Party from the Army, the Enemy with two thousand Foot made a Sally out of *Limerick* so unexpectedly upon our Men that they had almost surprized our Guard of Horse; but ours immediately mounting,

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and being not accustomed to be beaten, charged them, and notwithstanding the Inequality of the Forces, they being much superiour to us in Number, put them to a stand, till a Party of Horse and Foot came to their Relief, and forced the Enemies to retreat under the Walls of the Town, from whence their Men fired so thick upon ours, that their own Men had time to get into the Town.

When this Account was brought from Sir *Hardress Waller* to the Deputy, he was upon his Return to the Army before *Limerick*, having left me with about two thousand Horse and Foot, as well to ease our Quarters about the Town, not knowing how long we might lie before it, as to endeavour to perswade the Garrison of *Clare-Castle*, a strong Place, and situated upon the River, to surrender. To that end being arrived in the Army, he sent one Lieutenant Colonel *White*, who had served the Enemy, and now had a Commission to raise Forces for the King of *Spain*, with an Order to me, to permit him to go to the said Garrison, that he might inform them of the Impossibility of their receiving any Relief, and of the Necessities to which *Limerick* was already reduced, and thereby prevail with them to make speedy provision for themselves, and to lift under him: but his Design proving ineffectual, I found myself obliged to return to the Camp before *Limerick*, where we made provision for a Winter-Siege.

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Great Numbers of People endeavoured to get out of the Town, sent out by the Garison either as uselefs Persons, or to spread the Contagion amongst us. The Deputy commanded them to return, and threatned to shoot any that should attempt to come out for the future: But this not being sufficient to make them desist, he caused two or three to be taken out in order to be executed, and the rest to be whipped back into the Town. One of those that were to be hanged was the Daughter of an old Man, who was in that number which was to be sent back: He desired that he might be hanged in the room of his Daughter, but that was refused, and he with the rest driven back into the Town. After which a Gibbet was erected in the sight of the Town-Walls, and one or two Persons hanged up, who had been condemned for other Crimes, that those within might suppose that Execution to be for coming out; and by this means they were so terrified, that we were no farther disturbed on that account.

The Deputy, upon Information received that some in the Town were desirous to surrender, and that others did violently oppose them, endeavoured by Letters and Messages to foment the Division, declaring against several Persons by name that were most active and obstinate for holding out, that they should have no Benefit by the Articles to be agreed upon, severely inveighing against a Generation of Men

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whom he called Souldiers of Fortune, that made a trade of the War, and valued not the Lives or Happiness of the People. This wrought the desired effect, and so encouraged the complying Party, that it was carried for a Treaty, and Commissioners again appointed on each side. We insisted that about seventeen of the principal Persons in the Place should be excepted out of the Articles, of which number were Col. *Hugh O Neal* the Governour, the Mayor of the City, the Bishops of *Limerick* and *Emmene*, Major General *Purcel*, Sir *Geoffrey Galloway*, Sir *Jeffrey Barrow*, one *Wolf* a Priest, Sir *Richard Everard* and others. But these made so strong a Party that the Treaty was broke up without any Agreement, and no other way left to reduce them but by Force. In order to which the Deputy caused the great Guns to be landed from the Ships, and others to be brought from the adjacent Garisons. With these he erected a Battery against the Town in the most convenient Place that could possibly have been found, being against a part of the Wall, which tho it was of the same Height and Thickness with the rest of it, and also as well flanked; yet it proved not to be lined with Earth within, as all the other Parts were, nor had any Counterscarp without.

In the mean time the Parliament seeing a Period put to the War in *England* and *Scotland*, and that of *Ireland* drawing towards a Conclusion, resolved to gratify such Officers as the General recom-

recommended to their Favour; and thereupon settled a thousand Pounds yearly on Major General *Lambert*, three hundred on Major General *Overton*, the same on Col. *Pride* and Col. *Whalley*; five hundred Pounds annually on Commissary General *Reynolds*, a thousand Pounds *per annum* on the Lord *Broghil*. They also settled four thousand Pounds a Year on the Lord General himself, out of the Estates of the Duke of *Buckingham* and Marquis of *Worcester*, besides the two thousand five hundred Pounds a Year formerly granted. This they did to oblige him by all means possible to the performance of his Duty, or to leave him without excuse if he should depart from it. They ordered also an Act to be brought in for settling two thousand Pounds *per annum* on the Lord Deputy *Ireton*; the News of which being brought over, was so unacceptable to him, that he said, *They had many just Debts, which he desired they would pay before they made any such Presents; that he had no need of their Land, and therefore would not have it; and that he should be more contented to see them doing the Service of the Nation, than so liberal in disposing of the Publick Treasure.* And truly I believe he was in earnest; for as he was always careful to husband those things that beloned to the State to the best Advantage, so was he most liberal in employing his own Purse and Person in the Publick Service.

Our Battery being now in order, and the Regiments that were appointed to storm disposed to their several Posts, we began to fire ; directing all our Shot to one particular part of the Wall, wherein we made such a Breach, that the Enemy not daring to run any farther Hazard, beat a Parley, and soon came to a Resolution to surrender upon the Articles we had offered before, delivering up the East-gate of the out-Town, which was separated by a River, having a Draw-bridg over it from the other Town. The Deputy ordered all the Arms and Ammunition to be carefully preserved, and the Souldiers who were not of the Town, to be drawn up between the Place and our Army, that such as desired it might have Convoys to conduct them to their respective Parties ; and that those who would return to their Habitations, might have Passes granted to that effect. The Governour Col. *Hugh O Neal* met the Deputy at the Gate, where he presented him with the Keys of the City, and gave order for the marching out of the Souldiers, who were not Townsmen, according to the Articles. They were in number about two thousand five hundred Men. As they were marching out, two or three of them fell down dead of the Plague. Several of them also lay unburied in the Church-yard. The Governour waited on the Deputy to shew him the Stores of Arms, Ammunition and Provisions, which were sufficient to have lasted near three Months longer.

He

He shewed him also the Fortifications, and whatsoever else he desired of him, withal acquainting him that nine or ten of those who were excepted from the Benefit of the Articles had surrendred themselves to his Mercy, and were waiting his Orders in a certain House which he named: Upon which the Deputy commanded a Guard to be set upon them, and committed the Governour also to their Custody. The Bishop of *Emmene* and Major General *Purcel*, with *Wolf* the Priest, were taken in the Pest-house, where they had hid themselves. *Jeffery Barrow* and Sir *Geoffrey Galloway* surrendred themselves. Two days after the Delivery of the Town the Mayor came to the Place of Worship, where our Court of Guard was met; and whether by his Words or Actions he gave cause of Suspicion I cannot tell, but they seized him, and upon Examination found who he was; whereupon they committed him to Prison. The Bishop of *Limerick* was the only Person excepted that was yet undiscovered; but we afterwards understood him to be one of a more peaceable Spirit than the rest. A Court Martial was assembled, and the Bishop of *Emmene*, with Major General *Purcel*, required to acquaint them, if they had any thing to say why they should not die according to the Sentence passed upon them. The Bishop said, that having many Sins to confess, he desired time to prepare himself to that purpose, which was granted. Major General *Purcel* fell

upon his Knees, and begged earnestly for his Life, but that was denied. This poor Man was of so low a Spirit, that wanting Courage at the time of his Execution, he stood in need of two Musqueteers to support him. The Bishop died with more Resolution, and *Wolf* the Priest was also executed. The Governour and *Jeffrey Barrow* were also condemned to die; but the Deputy resolving to hear them, demanded of the Governour what he had to say for himself: who answered, that the War had been long on foot before he came over; that he came upon the Invitation of his Country-men; that he had always demeaned himself as a fair Enemy; and that the ground of his Exception from the Articles, being his encouraging to hold out, tho there was no hope of Relief, was not applicable to him, who had always moved them to a timely Surrender, as indeed he made it appear; and therefore hoped, that he should enjoy the Benefit of the Articles, in confidence of which he had faithfully delivered up the Keys of the Town, with all the Arms, Ammunition and Provisions, without Embezzlement, and his own Person also to the Deputy. But the Blood formerly shed at *Clonmel*, where this Col. *O Neal* was Governour, had made such an Impression on the Deputy, that his Judgment, which was of great weight with the Court, moved them a second time to vote him to die, tho some of us earnestly opposed it, for the Reasons before mentioned by himself; and

and because whatsoever he had been guilty of before, had no relation to these Articles, which did not at all exempt him from being called to an account by the Civil Magistrate for the same. The Court having passed Sentence of Death a second time against him, the Deputy, who was now entirely freed from his former manner of adhering to his own Opinion, which had been observed to be his greatest Infirmary, observing some of the Officers to be unsatisfied with this Judgment, referred it again to the Consideration of the Court, who by their third Vote consented to save his Life. *Jeffrey Barrow* having the same Question put to him with the rest, answered, that it was not just to exclude him from Mercy, because he had been engaged in the same Cause as we pretended to fight for, which was for the Liberty and Religion of his Country. The Deputy replied, That *Ireland* being a Conquered Country, the English Nation might with Justice assert their Right and Conquest: That they had been treated by the late Government far beyond their Merits, or the Rules of Reason; notwithstanding which they had barbarously murdered all the English that fell into their hands, robbed them of their Goods which they had gained by their Industry, and taken away the Lands which they had purchased with their Money: That touching the Point of Religion, there was a wide Difference also between us, we only contending to preserve our natural Right therein,

without imposing our Opinions upon other Men; whereas they would not be contented unless they might have Power to compel all others to submit to their Impositions upon pain of Death. The Council of War looking upon what he had said for himself to be hereby fully refuted, adjudged him to die, as they did the Mayor also; and the Sentence was executed accordingly.

Limerick being taken, it was debated in a Council of War, whether we should march to *Galway* in order to reduce that Place, which had been besieged for some time by Sir *Charles Coote* and Commissary General *Reynolds*. I concurred with the Deputy, that the Garrison being under a great Consternation by the Loss of *Limerick*, would probably be soon brought to Reason; but most of the Officers complaining of the ill Condition of their Men through Sickness and hard Service, representing also the near approach of Winter, we being already entered into the Month of *November*, the Deputy contented himself to send only a Summons to General *Preston* Governour of *Galway*, with Offers of such Conditions as were first tendred to those of *Limerick*, assuring him at the same time, that if he refused them, he should have no better than they had been lately obliged to submit to. This Proposition he rejected; but being unwilling to hazard the Event, took Shipping soon after, and went beyond Sea.

Whilst

Whilst the Deputy was settling Affairs at *Limerick*, he ordered me with a Party to march into the County of *Clare* to reduce some Places in those Parts. Accordingly I marched with about two thousand Foot and fifteen hundred Horse to *Incherooghnah*, fifteen Miles from *Limerick*; but it being late before we began our March, and Night overtaking us before we could reach that Place, as we were passing the Bridge, one of my Horses that carried my Waters and Medicines fell into the River, which proved a great Loss to me, as things fell out afterwards. The next day I came before *Clare-Castle*, and summoned it, whereupon they sent out Commissioners to treat, tho the Place was of very great Strength; and after three or four hours Debate, we came to an Agreement, by which the Castle was to be delivered to me the next Morning, the Enemy leaving Hostages with us for the performance of their part. That Night I lay in my Tent upon a Hill, where the Weather being very tempestuous, and the Season far advanced, I took a very dangerous Cold. The next Morning the Enemy marched out of the Castle, and received Passes from me to return home, according to the Articles. After which having appointed Col. *Faulk* and a Garison to defend it, I marched towards *Carickgoholt*. That Night my Cold increased, and the next Morning I found my self so much discomposed, that Adjutant General *Allen*, who was then with us, earnestly pressed me

me to go aboard one of the Vessels that attended our Party with Ammunition, Artillery and Provisions and to appoint a Person to command them in my Absence. But being unwilling to quit the Charge committed to my Care, I cloathed my self as warm as I could, putting on a Fur Coat over my Buff, and an Oiled one over that; by which means I prevented the farther Increase of my Distemper, and so ordered our Quarters that Night, that I lay in my own Bed set up in an Irish Cabin, where about break of day I fell into so violent a Sweat, that I was obliged to keep with me two Troops of Horse for my Guard, after I had given Orders for the rest of the Men to march. In this Condition I continued about two hours, and tho my Sweating had not ceased, I mounted in order to overtake my Party, who had a bitter day to march in, the Wind and the Hail beating so violently in our Faces, that the Horses being not able to endure it, often turned about. Yet in this Extremity of Weather the poor Foot were necessitated to wade through a Branch of the Sea, near a quarter of a Mile over, up to the Waste in Water. At Night we arrived within view of *Carickgoholt*, my Distemper being but little abated, and my Body in a continual Sweat. The next day I summoned the Garrison to surrender the Castle: In answer to which they sent out Commissions to treat, who at first insisted upon very high Terms; but finding us resolved not to grant their Propositions,

positions, they complied with ours, and the next day surrendered the Place. Liberty was given by the Articles to such as desired it, to go and join the Lord *Muskerry's* Party in the County of *Kerry*: the rest to return home, with promise of Protection as long as they behaved themselves peaceably, expecting only such who should appear to have been guilty of Murder in the first Year of the War, or afterwards. Having placed a Garison in *Carickgoholt*, I returned towards *Limerick*, and being on my March thither, I was met by an Officer of the Guard, with Orders from the Deputy for my Return; who thinking it impossible to reduce this Garison by Force in such a Season, was unwilling that the Souldiers should remain longer in the Field, exposed to such cruel and sharp Weather. The Messenger also acquainted me, that the Deputy was coming towards us, which he did, as well to view the Country, in order to the more equal distribution of Winter-quarters and Garisons, as to let us see that he would not command any Service, but such as he was willing to take a share of himself. Upon this advice I hastened with a Party to meet him, giving Orders for the rest to follow as fast as they could conveniently. At our Meeting I gave him an account of what I had done, with which he was very well satisfied. After two days March, without any thing remarkable but bad Quarters, we entred into the Barony of *Burren*, of which it is said, that it is a

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Country where there is not Water enough to drown a Man, Wood enough to hang one, nor Earth enough to bury him ; which last is so scarce, that the Inhabitants steal it from one another, and yet their Cattle are very fat ; for the Grass growing in Turfs of Earth, of two or three Foot square, that lie between the Rocks, which are of Limestone, is very sweet and nourishing. Being in these Parts we went to *Lemane*, a House of that *Connor O Bryan* whom we had killed near *Incheeroghuan* ; and finding it indifferent strong, being built with Stone, and having a good Wall about it, we put a Garison into it, and furnished it with all things necessary. The next day the Deputy with a Party of Horse went to view some other Places where he designed to appoint Garisons, in order to prevent the sending of Provisions into *Galway*, to which this Country lies contiguous. I was very desirous to attend him according to my Duty, but he having observed my Distemper to continue upon me, would not permit it ; and when I pressed it more earnestly, he positively commanded me to stay. That day there fell abundance of Rain and Snow, which was accompanied with a very high Wind, where the Deputy took a very great Cold that discovered it self immediately upon his Return ; but we could not persuade him to go to Bed, till he had determined a Cause that was before him and the Court Martial, touching an Officer of the Army, who was
accused

accused of some Violence done to the Irish ; and as in all Cases he carried himself with the utmost impartiality, so he did in this, dismissing the Officer, tho otherwise an useful Man, from his Command for the same. The next day we marched towards *Clare-Castle*, and found the way so rocky, that we rode near three Miles together upon one of them, whereby most of our Horses cast their Shoes ; so that though every Troop came provided with Horse-shoes, which were delivered to them out of the Stores, yet before that day's March was over, a Horse-shoe was sold for five Shillings.

The next morning the Lady *Honorina O'bryan*, Daughter to the late Earl of *Thomond*, being accused of protecting the Goods and Cattle of the Enemy, under pretence that they belonged to her, and thereby abusing the favour of the Deputy's Safeguard, which he had granted to her, came to him ; and being charged by him with it, and told, that he expected a more ingenuous Carriage from her ; she burst out into Tears, and assured him, if he would forgive her, that she would never do the like again, desiring me, after the Deputy was withdrawn, to intercede with him for the continuance of his favour to her ; which when I acquainted him with, he said, *As much a Cynick as I am, the Tears of this Woman moved me ;* and thereupon gave order that his Protection should be continued to her. From hence I would have attended him to *Limerick* ; but so much more
care

care did he take of me than of himself, that he would not suffer it; desiring me to go that day, being Saturday, and quarter at *Bonratto*, a House of the Earl of *Thomond's*, in order to recover my health; and to come to him on Monday morning at *Limerick*. Accordingly I came, and found the Deputy grown worse, having been let blood, and sweating exceedingly, with a burning Fever at the same time. Yet for all this he ceased not to apply himself to the Publick business, settling Garisons and distributing Winter-quarters, which was all that remained to be done of the Military Service for that year. I endeavoured to perswade him, as I had often done before, that his immoderate Labours for his Country would much impair, if not utterly destroy him; but he had so totally neglected himself during the Siege of *Limerick*, not putting off his Clothes all that time, except to change his Linen, that the malignant Humours which he had contracted, wanting room to perspire, became confined to his Body, and rendered him more liable to be infected by the Contagion. I was unwilling to leave him till I saw the event of his Distemper; but he supposing my Family was by this time come to *Dublin*, would not permit me to stay, and I finding I could in no way be serviceable to him, submitted to his desires. I found the Commissioners of Parliament at *Dublin*, and acquainted them with the State of Affairs in those Parts from whence I came, and with the Resolutions

lutions taken by the Deputy at *Limerick* ; but soon after my arrival, the sad news of his Death was brought to us, which was universally lamented by all good Men, more especially because the Publick was thereby deprived of a most faithful, able and useful Servant.

The Commissioners of Parliament taking into their consideration what method to observe in that Conjuncture, and presuming that my Command in the Army was next to that of the Deputy, resolved by a Letter to acquaint the Officers of our Forces in *Ireland* with their Judgment, and to require them to yield Obedience to me accordingly. I earnestly desired them to forbear sending any such Letter, which I did, not out of a feigned modesty, but from a real sense of the weight of such an Undertaking, and my own inability to perform the duty of that important Station : For though the Work seemed to be almost finished, yet there remained great Difficulties behind, the Enemy possessing some strong Places and Islands, and having many thousands yet in the Field ; there being also in the Parliament's Pay between seven and eight thousand Horse and Dragoons, with above two and twenty thousand Foot. For these and other Reasons I desired them that they would reserve the Power to themselves, till the Parliament should send over some Person to undertake that Employment, which they might do soon enough ; the season of Action being already past, the
Troops

Troops dispersed into their Winter-quarters, and nothing of importance likely to be done before the next Spring ; acquainting them, that being one of their number, I could be as serviceable in their Deliberations and Resolutions, as if I were entrusted with the sole Power. But all that I could say was not sufficient to dissuade them from sending the Letter before mentioned ; and tho it met with a general submission, yet I resolved not to undertake any thing without their Advice and Consent, which they readily promised to afford me.

Some of General *Cromwell's* Relations, who were not ignorant of his vast Designs now on foot, caused the Body of the Lord Deputy *Ireton* to be transported into *England*, and solemnly interred at *Westminster* in a magnificent Monument at the Publick Charge: Who if he could have foreseen what was done by them, would certainly have made it his desire that his Body might have found a Grave where his Soul left it, so much did he despise those pompous and expensive Vanities ; having erected for himself a more glorious Monument in the hearts of good Men, by his affection to his Country, his abilities of Mind, his impartial Justice, his diligence in the Publick Service, and his other Vertues, which were a far greater Honour to his Memory, than a Dormitory amongst the Ashes of Kings, who, for the most part, as they had governed others by their Passions, so were they themselves as much governed by them.

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The Isles of *Scilly* and *Man* were reduced to the Obedience of the Commonwealth; but nothing extraordinary happening at their reduction, at least not coming to my knowledge, I purposely omit the relation of those Actions.

About this time we were informed that Sir *George Ayscue*, who had been sent by the Parliament to the Western Islands, which still continued in arms against them, arrived at the *Barbadoes* on the 26th of *October*, 1651. and having opened a Passage into the Harbour by firing some great Shot, seized upon twelve of their Ships without opposition. The next morning he sent a Summons to the Lord *Willoughby* to submit to the Authority of the Parliament of *England*; but he not acknowledging any such Power, declared his Resolution to keep the Island for the King's Service. But the News of the Defeat of the *Scots* and their King at *Worcester* being brought to Sir *George Ayscue*, together with an intercepted Letter from the Lady *Willoughby*, containing the same Account; he summoned him a second time, and accompanied his Summons with the Lady's Letter to assure him of the truth of that report. But the Lord *Willoughby* relying upon his Numbers, and the fewness of those that were sent to reduce him, being in all but fifteen Sail, returned an Answer of the like substance with the former. Whereupon Sir *George Ayscue* sent two hundred Men on shore, commanded by Captain *Morrice*, to attack a Quarter of the Enemies that

lay by the Harbour, which they executed successfully by taking the Fort and about forty Prisoners, with four Pieces of Cannon, which they nailed up, and returned on board again. At this time the *Virginia* Fleet arriving at the *Barbadoes*, it was thought fit to send a third Summons to the Lord *Willoughby*; but finding that neither this, nor the Declaration sent to them by the Commissioners of Parliament to the same purpose, produced any effect, Sir *George Ayscue* landed seven hundred Men from his own and the *Virginia* Fleet, giving the Command of them to the same Captain *Morrice*, who fell upon thirteen hundred of the Enemies Foot and three Troops of their Horse, and beat them from their Works, killing many of their Men, and taking about a hundred Prisoners, with all their Guns. The Losses on our side was inconsiderable, few of ours being killed upon the place, and not above thirty wounded. Yet these Successes were not sufficient to accomplish the Work, there being above five thousand Horse and Foot in the Island, and our *Virginia* Fleet preparing to depart for want of Provisions. In this conjunction Colonel *Muddiford*, who commanded a Regiment in the Island, by the means of a Friend that he had in our Fleet, made his Terms, and declared for the Parliament. Many of his Friends following his Example, did the like, and in conjunction with him encamped under the protection of our Fleet. Upon this the most part of the Island were inclined to join

tis; but the Lord *Willoughby* prevented them
 by placing Guards on all the Avenues to our
 Camp, and designed to charge our Men with
 his Body of Horse, wherein he was much su-
 perior to them, had not a Cannon-Ball that was
 fired at random, beat open the door of a Room,
 where he and his Council of War were sitting;
 which taking off the Head of the Sentinel who
 was placed at the door, so alarmed them all,
 that he changed his design, and retreated to a
 Place two Miles distant from the Harbour. Our
 Party, consisting of two thousand Foot and one
 hundred Horse, advancing towards him, he de-
 sired to treat; which being accepted, Col. *Mud-
 diford*, Col. *Collyton*, Mr. *Searl* and Cap. *Pack*,
 were appointed Commissioners by Sir *George
 Ayscue*; and by the Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *Richard
 Pierce*, Mr. *Charles Pym*, Col. *Ellis* and Major
Byham. By these it was concluded, that the
 Islands of *Mevis*, *Antego* and *St. Christophers*
 should be surrendered to the Parliament of *Eng-
 land*: That the Lord *Willoughby*, Col. *Walrond*,
 and some others, should be restored to their
 Estates; and that the Inhabitants of the said Isles
 should be maintained in the quiet enjoyment of
 what they possessed, on condition to do nothing
 to the prejudice of the Commonwealth. This
 News being brought to *Virginia*, they submit-
 ted also, where one Mr. *George Ludlow*, a Re-
 lation of mine, served the Parliament in the like
 manner, as Col. *Muddiford* had done at the
Barbadoes.

The Parliament of *England* being desirous after all these Successes, to convince even their Enemies, that their principal design was to procure the happiness and prosperity of all that were under their Government, sent Commissioners to *Scotland* to treat concerning an Union of that Nation with *England* in one Commonwealth ; directing them to take care, till that could be effected, that Obedience should be given to the Authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*. The Commissioners appointed to this end on the part of the Parliament, were Sir *Henry Vane*, the Chief Justice *St. Johns*, Mr. *Fenwick*, Major *Salloway*, Major General *Lambert*, Colonel *Titchborn*, Major General *Dean* and Colonel *Monk*. This Proposition of Union was cheerfully accepted by the most judicious amongst the *Scots*, who well understood how great a condescension it was in the Parliament of *England*, to permit a People they had conquered, to have a part in the Legislative Power.

The States-General being highly displeased with the late Act of Navigation passed by the Parliament, which they accounted to be a great obstruction to their Trade, resolved to leave no means unattempted to procure it to be repealed. To this end they sent three Ambassadors to *England*, who pretending a desire to finish the Treaty begun formerly between the Two States, requested that things might be as they were at the time of our Ambassador's departure

parture from *Holland*, designing thereby that the Act lately passed for the Encouragement of our Seamen should be suspended, and all such Merchandizes restored as had been seized from the Dutch by virtue of the said Act. The Parliament refusing to consent to this Proposal, the States-General gave Orders for the equipping a considerable Fleet, consisting of about a hundred Ships of War, giving notice to the Parliament by their Ambassadors of these Preparations, and assuring them that they were not design'd to offend the English Nation, with whom they desired to maintain a friendly Correspondence, and that they were provided to no other end, than to protect their own Subjects in their Trade and Navigation. But the Parliament being unwilling to rely upon the Promises of those, who by their past and present Actions had manifested little Friendship to us, resolved to make what Preparations they could to defend themselves.

This Alarm awakened us to a diligent performance of our Duty in *Ireland*, fearing that the *Hollanders* might transport some foreign Forces by their Fleet, to the Assistance of the Irish, who were not only still numerous in the Field, but had also divers Places of Strength to retreat to. Our Suspicions were farther increased by the Advices we received of a Treaty on foot between the Duke of *Lorain* and *Theobald* Viscount *Taff*, with other Irish, to bring the Forces of that Duke into *Ireland* against us,

in order to extirpate all Hereticks out of that Nation, to re-establish the Romish Religion in all Parts of it, and to restore the Irish to their Possessions ; all which being performed, he should deliver up the Authority to the King of *Great Britain*, and assist him against his Rebellious Subjects in *England* : That all *Ireland* should be engaged for his Re-imbursement : That *Galway*, *Limerick*, *Athentree*, *Athlone*, *Waterford*, and the Fort of *Duncannon*, should be put into his hands as Cautionary Places, with other things of the same nature. The Report of this Agreement being spread amongst the Irish, encouraged them to make all possible Opposition against us, in expectation of the promised Succours. The Commissioners of the Parliament on the other hand, laboured with all diligence to dispose their Affairs in the best manner they could for the Publick Service ; in order to which they sent to the several Commanders of our Army to excite them to the discharge of their Duty, making provision of Arms, Ammunition, Clothes, Tents, and all things necessary to the carrying on the War in the ensuing Spring. A general Meeting of Officers was also appointed to be held at *Kilkenny* to consult about the best Method of employing our Arms against the Enemy ; And because the Propositions offered by the late Lord Deputy to those of *Galway*, had been no farther prosecuted by reason of his Death, Orders were dispatched to Sir *Charles Coote*, authorizing

rizing him to conclude with them, in case they should accept the Conditions at, or before the ninth of the next *January*. According to their Orders the Officers met at *Kilkenny*, by whom being informed of what they thought necessary for the ensuing Service, we acquainted the Parliament and Council of State with the Particulars of such things as were requisite, desiring them to send them over with all convenient speed; that no time might be lost, when the Season of the Year should permit us to take the Field. We published two Proclamations to prevent the Country from supplying the Enemy with Arms and other Necessaries; wherein drawing a Line as it were about the Irish Quarters, we required all Persons to withdraw themselves and their Goods from the places of their resort within a limited time; which if they refused to do, we declared them Enemies, and ordered all Officers and Souldiers to treat them accordingly: commanding also all Smiths, Armourers and Sadlers that lived in the Country to retire in twenty days with all their Families, Forges and Instruments, into some Garrison of the Parliament, on pain of forfeiture of their Goods and Tools, besides six Months Imprisonment for the first Offence, and of Death for the second. We ordered also that all those who had withdrawn themselves out of our Protection, and joined with the Enemy, since the coming over of General *Cromwell*, should be deprived of the benefit of Quarter. Having pub-

lished these and other Orders of the like tenour, we appointed the Lord *Broghil*, Commissary General *Reynolds*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, Colonel *Aston*, and the rest of the Officers, to cause them to be put in execution, as occasion should require. Having finished our Affairs at *Kilkenny*, and dismissed the Officers to their respective Quarters, I resolved to go to *Portumna* to make all things ready for the Siege of *Galway*. Being on my March on the other side of *Newagh*, an advanced Party found two of the Rebels, one of whom was killed by the Guard before I came up to them, the other was saved : and being brought before me at *Portumna*, and I asking him if he had a mind to be hanged ? he only answered, *If you please* ; so insensibly stupid were many of these poor Creatures. The Commissioners having done their business in this Place, and given Directions for the carrying on the Siege of *Galway*, with Power to treat, as before mentioned, to Sir *Charles Coote*, we returned to *Dublin*, and at our arrival were informed, that the Barony of *Burren* relying upon the security of their places of Retreat, had refused to pay the Contributions which they had promised ; upon which Sir *Hardress Waller* had been obliged to lay the Country waste, and to seize what he could find, that it might be no longer useful to the Enemy. We had advice also from *Ulster*, that some of our Troops had killed and drowned about a hundred and forty Tories who infested that Province with their Robberies.

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The time limited by the Proclamation, requiring the Irish to withdraw from the places mentioned therein, being expired, I marched with a Party of Horse and Foot into the Fastnesses of *Wicklo*, as well to make Examples of such as had not obeyed the Proclamation, as to place a Garison there, to prevent the Excursions of the Enemy. *Talbot's Town* was the Place I thought fittest for that end; which having rendered defensible against any sudden attempt, and furnished with all things necessary, I marched farther into the Country. The next morning I divided my Men into three Parties, sending away Colonel *Pretty* with one of them to his own Quarters, lest the Enemy should fall upon them in his absence; with the other two we scoured by different ways, the Passes and Retreats of the Irish, but met not with many of them; our Parties being so big, that the Irish, who had Sentinels placed upon every Hill, gave notice of our March to their Friends: so that upon our Approach, they still fled to their Bogs and Wood. When I came to *Dundrum*, a Place lying in the heart of the Enemy's Quarters, I perceived the Walls and Roof of an old Church standing, wherein I placed Captain *Jacob* with his Company; who was afterwards very serviceable against the Enemy. The like Methods being taken by the Lord *Broghil*, Colonel *Zanehey*, Colonel *Abbot* and other Officers, the Irish were reduced to great Extremities.

About

we would take away the Fire, I commanded my Men to leave shooting, and acquainted the Besieged, that if they expected any Favour from us, they must throw down their Arms, which they presently did: Whereupon I ordered the Fire to be taken away, and gave a Souldier twenty Shillings to fetch out two Barrels of Powder that was near the Fire, which continued to burn so fiercely, that we could not put it out, but were obliged to throw up Skains of Match into the Chambers, by which those in the Castle descended to us, being about fourscore in number, besides many Women and Children. We secured the Men till the next Morning, when I called a Council of War; and being pressed by the Officers, that some of the Principal of them might be punished with Death for their Obstinacy, I consented to their Demand, provided it might not extend to such as had been drawn in by the Malice of others. Those who were Tenants to Sir *Dermot O Shortness*, and Country-men, I dismissed to their Habitations, upon promise to behave themselves peaceably, and to engage against us no more: the rest of them we carried away with us. Whilst we were spending our time in sending to Sir *Charles Coote*, and expecting his Answer, I had sent a Party of Horse to find out some of the Enemies that were marched towards the Barony of *Burren*; and tho they could not overtake them, yet they met with four or five hundred Head of Cattle, and seized them,

Condition of their Affairs in all Parts, sent a Letter directed to the Commissioners of the Parliament of *England* from the Principal, as they called themselves, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and subscribed by *Gerald Fitz-Gerald*, on the behalf of their Assembly held at *Glanmaliero* in the Province of *Leinster*; representing, That being advised that the Commonwealth of *England* is in a condition to give honourable and sure Terms to them, they are in an entire Disposition to receive them; and to that effect desire in the Name of that and the rest of the Provinces, a safe Conduct for every one of them, with Blanks subscribed to that end, that they may empower and send some of their Members to present Propositions to the Commissioners that are or should be authorized to that purpose. To this the Commissioners answered in substance, That tho the Letter was subscribed by one, under the pretext of an Authority which they could not own without prejudice to that of the Parliament; yet for the satisfaction of those concerned, they thought fit to declare, That the Establishment of this Nation doth of Right belong only to the Parliament of *England*, who will distinguish those who have always lived peaceably, or have already submitted to their Authority, and put themselves under their Protection, from such as have committed and countenanced the Murders and Massacres of the Protestants during the first Year of the Rebellion, as well as from those
who

who continue still in Arms to oppose their Authority : That they cannot in Justice consent to an Act so prejudicial to the Peace of the Country, as would involve quiet and peaceable People in the same Prosecution with those who are in open Hostility : That they cannot grant safe Conducts to such as persist in their Opposition to the Parliament, to assemble from all Provinces, and to communicate their Designs to each other : But that all those who will lay down their Arms, and submit to the Commonwealth, shall have as favourable Conditions as they can justly expect.

This Resolution of the Commissioners being made publick, the Irish fell upon another Expedient : in pursuance of which the Earl of *Clanrickard*, who had been left Deputy by the Earl of *Ormond*, sent a Letter directed to me, then Commander in Chief of the Forces of the Parliament in *Ireland*, in the Words following.

S I R ;

“ M A N Y of the Nobility, Clergy, and
 “ other Persons of Quality, Subjects of
 “ this Kingdom, with the Corporation of *Gal-*
 “ *way*, having considered the present State of
 “ Affairs, and the ruinous Effects which this
 “ long War hath produced, have solicited me
 “ to desire of you a Conference for the esta-
 “ blishment of the Repose of this Nation, and
 “ to obtain a safe Conduct for the Commis-
 “ sioners,

“ oners, whom by their Advice I shall judge
 “ capable to be sent to you for that end. It is
 “ this which hath obliged me to send you an
 “ Express, with this Protestation, that I shall
 “ not abandon them, till I see such Conditions
 “ granted them, as they may with Honour ac-
 “ cept : for want of which I am resolved to
 “ continue the Authority and Protection of his
 “ Majesty over them, even to Extremity, not
 “ doubting but by Divine Assistance, with the
 “ Forces we have already, and the Succours
 “ which shall be sent us by his Majesty and
 “ Allies, we shall be found in a condition to
 “ change the present State of Affairs, or at least
 “ to render your former Conquests of little
 “ advantage ; and in the end to sell our Lives
 “ at a dear rate if we shall be forced thereto :
 “ the which leaving to your Consideration, and
 “ expecting your certain Answer and Resolu-
 “ tion, I remain,

SIR,

24 March, 1652.

Your Servant,

CLANRICKARD.

P O S T S C R I P T.

“ If you please to send a safe Conduct, I
 “ desire it may be addressed to Sir Charles Coote,
 “ or whom you shall think fit near to this
 “ Place,

" Place, with a Pass for the number of five
 " Commissioners, and their Retinue of about
 " twenty Persons, to the end that having no-
 " tice thereof, I may send a List of the Names
 " of the said Commissioners.

To this I returned the following Answer,

My Lord ;

" IN answer to yours of the 24th of March,
 " I by which you propose a Treaty for the
 " Settlement of this Country, and desire a safe
 " Conduct for the Commissioners you shall
 " judg fit to employ in the management of that
 " Affair, I think fit, in pursuance of the Ad-
 " vice of the Commissioners of the Parliament
 " of *England*, and of many Officers of the
 " English Army; to advertise you, as hath
 " been already answered to those who have
 " sent Propositions of the like nature, That the
 " Settlement of this Nation doth of Right be-
 " long to the Parliament of the Common-
 " wealth of *England*, to whom we are ob-
 " liged in duty to leave it; being assured, that
 " they will not capitulate with those who
 " ought to submit to them, and yet oppose
 " themselves to their Authority, and upon vain
 " and frivolous hopes have refused such Offers
 " of Favour as they would gladly accept at
 " present: so that I fear they will be con-
 " strained to proceed against them with the
 " highest Severity; which that you may
 " pre-

“prevent by your timely Submission, is the
“Desire of,

My Lord,

Your humble Servant,

EDMUND LUDLOW.

That Passage in my Answer touching their Readiness to accept such Terms as they had formerly rejected, was grounded upon notice sent by Sir *Charles Coote*; that the Town of *Galway*, since the time limited by the Commissioners for their Submission was expired, desired a Treaty: whereupon I had acquainted him, that seeing the Besieged had refused the Conditions formerly offered, they ought not now to expect the like, after such an addition of Trouble and Charge as they had lately put us upon; yet for all this Caution Sir *Charles Coote* concluded a Treaty with them, immediately after the Return of my Answer to the Earl of *Clanrickard*; upon Conditions much more advantageous to them than those formerly proposed, and very prejudicial to the Publick, undertaking to get them ratified by the Commissioners of Parliament within twenty days, and in the mean time promising that they should be inviolably observed. The Commissioners of Parliament having received the Articles, and conceiving it to be unjust as well as impru-

imprudent to give the best Terms to those who made the longest Opposition, and of what dangerous Consequence it might be, if that Place were not fully secured to the English Interest, spent the whole Night in Consultation with the Officers of the Army, and in the end resolved, That they could not consent that any should receive the Benefit of those Articles who had been any way concerned in the murdering of the English in the first Year of the War: That they would not oblige themselves to permit any to live in *Galway*, whom they should hereafter think fit to remove from thence for the Security of the Place: That they cannot consent that the Burgesses shall enjoy any more than two thirds of their Estates lying near the Town: That they will not suffer the Habitations of such as have been forced to quit the Place upon the account of their Affection to the Parliament, to be detained from them. With these and some other Alterations they declared their Consent to the rest of the Articles before-mentioned; which if those of the Town refused, they ordered that our Men should not enter; and if entred, that they should restore the Possession of it to the Garison: but notwithstanding this Expedition, the Messenger that was dispatched with the Resolutions of the Commissioners, came too late, and all that could be obtained was a Promise from Sir *Charles Coote*, to endeavour to perswade those of *Galway* to accept of the Articles, with
the

the Amendments made by the Commissioners.

The Parliament having resolved upon the Incorporation of *Scotland* with the Nation of *England* into one Free State or Commonwealth, and to reimburse themselves some part of that Treasure they had expended in their own Defence against the Invasions of the Scots, declared the Goods and Lands formerly belonging to the Crown of *Scotland* to be confiscated, and also those that were possessed by such Persons as had assisted in the Invasion of *England* by Duke *Hamilton* in the Year 1648, or had appeared in Arms since, under the King of Scots, in order to subvert the present Government; excepting those who since the Battel of *Dunbar* had abandoned the said King of Scots, and by their Merits and Services had rendred themselves worthy of Favour: That all such who are not comprehended under the said Qualifications, and shall concur with them in their just Enterprize, shall receive the Benefit of their Protection, and enjoy their Liberties and Goods equally with the free People of *England*. In pursuance of this Declaration of the Parliament, their Commissioners in *Scotland* published another, wherein they discharge from Confiscation all Merchants and Tradesmen, who possess not in Lands or Goods above the Value of five hundred Pounds, and are not Prisoners of War, Souldiers of Fortune, Moss-Troopers, or such as have killed or committed Outrages against

the English Souldiers, contrary to the Laws and Customs of War. They also emitted a Proclamation, abolishing in the name of the Parliament all manner of Authority and Jurisdiction derived from any other Power but that of the Commonwealth of *England*, as well in *Scotland* as in all the Isles belonging to it. After this they summoned the Counties, Cities and Boroughs, to agree to the Incorporation before mentioned; of which eighteen of one and thirty Counties, and twenty four of fifty six Cities and Boroughs consented to send their Deputies to the Parliament of *England*, most of the rest excusing themselves for want of Money to defray the Expences of their Representatives.

This Business being accomplished, and an Act passed for the Incorporation of *England* and *Scotland* into one Commonwealth, the Parliament were prevailed with by the Importunities of some of their own Members, and in particular of General *Cromwell*, that so he might fortify himself by the Addition of new Friends for the carrying on his Designs, to pass an Act of General Pardon and Amnesty: whereby tho it had thirty eight several Exceptions, many Persons who deserved to pay towards the Reimbursement of the Publick, no less than those who had been already fined, escaped the Punishment due to their Misdemeanours, and the Commonwealth was defrauded of great Sums of Money, by which means they were rendred
unable

unable to discharge many just Debts owing to such as had served them with Diligence and Fidelity.

In *Ireland* the Rebels were so pressed by our Forces in all Parts, that they began to think it necessary to treat about Conditions of Submission, and many of them obtained Liberty to be transported into foreign Service ; wherein the Commissioners of Parliament assisted them with Ships : so that the Irish Officers were in many Places deserted by their own Souldiers. Col. *Fitzpatrick* was the first who submitted, on condition to be transported with his Regiment into the Service of the King of *Spain*, which was a great blow to the Irish Confederacy, who were very desirous to treat in conjunction, hoping to obtain more favourable Terms, in consideration of their Numbers ; insomuch that they published Declarations against him, and the Irish Clergy excommunicated him, and all those who joined with him. Notwithstanding which Col. *Odowyer*, Commander in Chief of the Irish in the Counties of *Waterford* and *Tipperary*, followed his Example, and proposed a Treaty to Col. *Zanchez*, who having received Instructions from the Commissioners, concluded an Agreement with him ; the principal Articles whereof were to this effect : That the Arms and Horses belonging to the Brigade of Col. *Edmund Odowyer* shall be delivered up at a certain price : That he and his Party shall enjoy their personal Estates, and such a proportion

of their real Estates as others under their Qualification shall be permitted to do: That the Benefit of the Articles shall not extend to such as had murdered any of the English, or had been engaged in the Rebellion during the first Year; or to any Romish Priests, or to those who had been of the first General Assembly; those also who had taken away the Life of any of ours after Quarter given, and those who had deserted us and joined themselves to the Enemy, were excepted out of the Treaty: All others to have Liberty to live in our Quarters, or to transport themselves into the Service of any foreign State in Friendship with the Commonwealth of England.

Whilst the Ambassadors from *Holland* were in Treaty with the Commissioners appointed by the Parliament to that end, the Dutch Fleet consisting of forty three Ships of War, commanded by the Heer *Van Tromp*, came into the Downs. Major *Bourn* having with him a Squadron of eight Men of War, perceiving two of the Dutch Ships making sail towards him, sent to them to demand the Reason of their Approach; and an Answer being returned, that they had a Message to deliver from Admiral *Van Tromp* to the English Commander of that Squadron, they were permitted to come up to that purpose. The Captains of the two Dutch Ships, after they had saluted Major *Bourn* by striking the Flag, went on board him, and acquainted him, that they were sent by their Admiral

miral to let him know, that riding with his Fleet near *Dunkirk*, he had lost many Cables and Anchors by bad Weather, and was now brought by a North Wind more Southward than he designed, of which he thought himself obliged to give him notice to prevent any Misunderstanding. Major *Bourn* told them he was willing to believe what was said, and that the Truth of it would best appear by their speedy Retreat. With this Answer the two Captains returned to their Fleet; which coming within Cannon-shot of *Dover-Castle* with their Sails up, and Flag at the Top-mast, not saluting the Fort according to Custom, the Garrison was constrained to fire three Guns at the *Hollanders*, to put them in mind of their Duty: But their Admiral made no Answer, and still keeping up his Flag, lay in the Road till the next day about Noon, at which time he weighed Anchor, and set sail towards *Calais*. The rest of the English Fleet consisting only of thirteen Men of War commanded by General *Blake*, who had been upon the Coast of *Sussex*, returning into the *Downs* soon after the Departure of the Dutch, was joined by Major *Bourn*, and those eight Ships he had with him. But Admiral *Van Tromp* being obliged to take care of some rich Merchant Ships bound home to *Holland* from the *Straits*, returned towards the *Downs*; and being come within Cannon-shot of our Fleet without striking their Flag, General *Blake* commanded three several Guns one after the

other to be fired at him. Whereupon he answered with one Gun, which shot through the English Flag, and followed it with a whole Broad-side, setting up a red Standard on his Topmast, as a Signal to the whole Fleet to prepare to fight. The Engagement began about four in the Afternoon, and lasted till nine at Night, with great Loss to the Enemy, and little Damage on our side, tho' their Fleet was double our Number. We took two of their Men of War in the Fight, one of which was brought away, and the other being very much shatter'd, sunk down as our Men were carrying her off. The Council of State having received an Account of this Action, made their Report of it to the Parliament, who passed a Vote for the justification of General *Blake*; and resolving to have Satisfaction for this Assault, placed a Guard upon the Dutch Ambassadors, at their Lodgings in *Chelsey*, and sent General *Cromwell* and Mr. *Denis Bond*, a Member of Parliament, down to the Fleet, with Assurances that nothing should be wanting for their Encouragement.

The Event of this Undertaking not answering the Expectations of the Hollanders; serving only to provoke the English Nation, and to publish their own Dishonour, they endeavoured to make the World as well as the Parliament believe, that the Quarrel was begun by General *Blake*, or at least that what had been done was not by their Orders; and therefore desired that

the Treaty might go on, and that the Prisoners taken in the late Fight might be restored. To this end they sent over the Heer *Pan* of *Heemsted* to carry on the Treaty in conjunction with the Ambassadors they had sent before into *England*. This Minister was received with all the usual Demonstrations of Honour, and being admitted to Audience, pressed for an Accommodation of all Differences, and a Cessation of all Acts of Hostility between the two Nations; assuring the Parliament that his Masters had given Orders to their Ships to strike to the English Flag, in the same manner as had been practised in former times: But being demanded to shew his Powers, he produced nothing save Letters of Credence and Passports, referring himself to the other Ambassadors in that Point, with whom he made some General Propositions to the Parliament, and desired them to declare their Demands. By these Proceedings of the Dutch, the Parliament perceiving that this Difference was not like to be decided by a Treaty, contented themselves to require Satisfaction for the Injuries received, and Assurance that nothing of that nature should be attempted for the future; which if the Ambassadors would consent to, they declared themselves ready to proceed in the Treaty, and to grant a Cessation of Arms. But so little were they disposed to give the Satisfaction demanded, that they made no farther mention of the Cessation which they had so earnestly pressed; and having taken their

Audience of Leave, they broke off the Treaty abruptly, and returned home.

In *Ireland*, tho the Number of those that submitted on condition to be transported into foreign Service, was so great, that they became a great Burden to us before we could procure Shipping for their Transportation; and tho the Enemy had received several Defeats by our Forces during the Winter, wherein many of them had been killed and taken; yet they continued to make Incursions into our Quarters, carying away Cattel and other Booty: and having lately seized upon the Horses belonging to two Troops of Dragoons, they were so encouraged, that *Sir Walter Dungan*, Commissary General of the Enemies Horse, and Capt. *Scurlock* a forward Officer, and one who had done us much Mischief, with five hundred Foot and two hundred and fifty Horse, marched into *Wexford*, with a Design to plunder that County. Lieutenant Colonel *Throgmorton*, who commanded in those Parts, having informed us of their March, we sent two Troops of Horse to his Assistance, who with them and about four hundred Foot charged the Enemy upon their Return, and after some Dispute routed them, killing two hundred of them upon the Place, and many more, with divers Officers, in the Pursuit; besides several of the Irish taken Prisoners, with the Loss of about twenty killed, and a hundred wounded on our side. The Booty which the Enemy had gotten
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consisting chiefly in five hundred Cows, was all recovered.

The Season of Action advancing, the Commissioners of Parliament went to *Kilkenny*, as well to confer with the Officers from all Parts of *Ireland*, as to make the necessary Preparations for the ensuing Service ; of which the Earl of *Westmeath*, who commanded the Enemies Forces in *Leinster*, having notice, sent to desire a safe Conduct for Commissioners to be named by them to treat with us at *Kilkenny* on their behalf ; which being granted, they appointed Commissary General *Dungan*, *Lewis* Viscount of *Glanmalier*; Sir *Robert Talbot*, Sir *Richard Bannell*, Col. *Walter Bagnol*, Col. *Lewis Moor*, and Col. *Thomas Tyrrell*, to be their Commissioners. And on our part, Commissary General *Reynolds*, Col. *Hewetson*, Col. *Lawrence*, Col. *Axtel*, Adjutant General *Allen*, Major *Henry Owen*, and Mr. *James Standish*, Deputy-Treasurer of the Army, were commissioned to treat and conclude with them, in conformity to such Instructions as they received from a General Council ; and after several days Conference the Commissioners on each part came to an Agreement upon Terms that were the same in substance with those formerly granted to Col. *Edmund Odowyer* and his Party, with liberty left for the Lord *Muskerry*, Major General *Taaf*, and other Commanders of the Irish in the Provinces of *Munster*, *Connaught*, and *Ulster*, yet in Arms, to come in and accept of the same

each side. Those for the Enemy were Major General *Purcel*, Mr. *Stockdale* Recorder of the Town, Col. *Butler*, *Jeffrey Barrow*, who had been one of their *Supreme Council*, Mr. *Baggot*, and one more, whose Name I do not remember. The Commissioners nominated by the Deputy were Major General *Waller*, Col. *Cromwell*, Major *Smith*, Adjutant General *Allen*, myself, and one more, whom I have also forgot. We met them in a Tent placed between the Town and our Camp, where we dined together, and treated of Conditions for several days; but they having great Expectations of Relief, either by the King's Success against us in *Scotland*, or by the drawing together of their own Parties in *Ireland*, who were able to form an Army more numerous than ours, insisted upon such excessive Terms, that the Treaty was broken up without coming to any Conclusion. The Fort which we were preparing in order to block them up on one side of the Town being almost finished, and Materials ready for building a Bridge to be laid over the *Shannon* to preserve a Communication between our Forces on each side, we resolved to endeavour the Reduction of a Castle possessed by the Enemy, and standing beyond their Bridge. To that end a Battery was erected, and a Breach being made, the Deputy remembering the Vigour of the Troopers in the Action at *Gourten-shogore*, desired that one might be drawn out of each Troop to be an Example to the Foot that were

ties : the first consisted of Colonel *Overtoun's* Regiment of Foot, and a Regiment of Horse, commanded by Major *Blackmore* : The second of Colonel *Hacker's* Regiment of Horse, and one of Foot commanded by Colonel *Lilburn* ; and the third was composed of the Regiment of Horse of Major General *Dean*, and of a Regiment of Foot belonging to Lieutenant General *Monk*. Each of these having a Party of Dragoons to attend them, rendezvouzed at *Loughaber*, and from thence fell separately into the Enemy's Quarters, where they killed many of them, and burned their Provisions, pursuing them so close, that as they fled from one Party, they fell into the hands of another ; by which means they were in a short time entirely dispersed.

The Irish that submitted according to the Articles, and delivered up their Arms and Horses to the Commissioners appointed by me to receive them, were in all about three thousand. But many of them finding themselves within that exception concerning the Murders of the English, or hoping to obtain better Conditions, or, it may be, taking pleasure in their predatory Life, continued still in Arms. Of this number was the Lord *Muskerry*, who commanded the Irish in *Munster*, and at the time of our Treaty with those of *Leinster*, had sent one Colonel *Poor* to *Kilkenny*, to acquaint us that he designed to come in upon the same Conditions ; but we suspecting his sincerity, by the means

means of ~~some~~ Letters which we intercepted, were not wanting to prepare what was necessary in order to reduce him and his Party by force ; and having finished our Affairs at *Kilbenny*, I removed with the Commissioners to *Clonmel*, and from thence to *Toughal*, and so to *Cork*.

The Rebels in *Connaght* and *Ulster*, instead of submitting, as was expected, got together a Body of about five thousand Men under the Conduct of the Earl of *Clawrickard* and Sir *Phelim O Neal*, with which they besieged and took the Fort of *Ballisbannon*. Whereupon Sir *Charles Coote* and Colonel *Venables* drew out what Forces they could, and advanced towards them with such expedition, that they were near the Place before the Enemy had notice of their March ; who finding themselves surprized, retreated to the Bogs, leaving a small Garison in *Ballisbannon* : but being pursued by our Men, who killed and wounded about three hundred of them, in which number were thirty Officers, and took from them seven or eight thousand Cows, upon whose Milk they chiefly subsisted, twelve hundred of them came in and laid down their Arms : upon which the Garison they had placed in *Bollisbannon*, surrendered upon Articles.

Major General *Lambert* making great Preparations to come over to us in the quality of Deputy to General *Cromwell*, the Commission of the said General to be Lieutenant of *Ireland* expired,

pired. Whereupon the Parliament took that Affair into their Consideration ; and tho there were not wanting many amongst them, who affirmed the Title and Office of Lieutenant to be more futable to a Monarchy than a Free Commonwealth, yet it was likely to have been carried for the renewing his Commission under the same Title. But he, having at that time another Part to act, stood up, and declared his satisfaction with what had been said against constituting a Lieutenant in *Ireland*, desiring that they would not continue him with that Character. Upon which the Question being put, the Parliament willing to believe him in earnest, ordered it according to his Motion. He farther moved, that tho they had not thought fit to continue a Lieutenant of *Ireland*, they would be pleased, in consideration of the worthy Person whom they had formerly approved to go over with the Title of Deputy, to continue that Character to him. But the Parliament having suppressed the Title and Office of a Lieutenant in *Ireland*, thought it altogether improper to constitute a Deputy, who was no more than the Substitute of a Lieutenant ; and therefore refused to consent to that Proposal, ordering that he should be inserted one of the Commissioners for Civil Affairs, and constituted Commander in chief of their Forces in *Ireland*. In the management of this Affair, Mr. *Weaver*, who was one of the Commissioners of *Ireland*, but then at *London*, and sitting in

In Parliament, was very active, to the great discontent of General *Cromwell*, who endeavouring to perswade the Parliament that the Army in *Ireland* would not be satisfied, unless their Commander in chief came over qualified as Deputy, Mr. *Weaver* assured them that upon his knowledge, all the sober People of *Ireland*, and the whole Army there, except a few factious Persons, were not only well satisfied with the present Government both Civil and Military of that Nation, but also with the Governours who managed the same ; and therefore moved that they would make no alteration in either, and renew their Commissions for a longer time. This discourse of Mr. *Weaver* tending to perswade the Parliament to continue me in the Military Command, increased the Jealousie which General *Cromwell* had conceived of me, that I might prove an obstruction to the Design he was carrying on to advance himself by the ruin of the Commonwealth. And therefore, since Major General *Lambert* refused to go over with any Character less than that of Deputy, he resolved by any means to place Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* at the head of Affairs in *Ireland*. By which Conduct he procured two great Advantages to himself, thereby putting the Army in *Ireland* into the hands of a person secured to his Interest by the Marriage of his Daughter ; and drawing Major General *Lambert* into an enmity towards the Parliament, prepared him to join with him in opposition to them, when he should find

find it convenient to put his Design in execution.

In the mean time I was not wanting in my endeavours to reduce the Enemy in *Ireland*, and to that end marched with about 4000 Foot and 2000 Horse towards *Ros* in *Kerry*; where the Lord *Maskerry* made his principal Rendezvous, and which was the only place of Strength the Irish had left, except the Woods, Bogs and Mountains; being a kind of an Island, encompassed on every part by Water, except on one side, upon which there was a Bog not passable but by a Causeway which the Enemy had fortified. In this Expedition I was accompanied by the Lord *Broughil*, and Sir *Hardress Waller*, Major General of the Foot. Being arrived at this Place, I was informed that the Enemy received continual Supplies from those parts that lay on the other side, and were covered with Woods and Mountains; whereupon I sent a Party of two thousand Foot to clear those Woods, and to find out some convenient place for the erecting a Fort, if there should be occasion. These Forces met with some opposition; but at last they routed the Enemy, killing some, and taking others Prisoners; the rest saved themselves by their good Footmanship. Whilst this was doing, I employed that Part of the Army which was with me in fortifying a Neck of Land, where I designed to leave a Party to keep in the Irish on this side, that I might be at liberty with the greatest part of the Horse and Foot to look after the Enemy abroad, and to receive and convoy
such

such Boats and other things necessary as the Commissioners sent to us by Sea. When we had received our Boats, each of which was capable of containing a hundred and twenty Men, I ordered one of them to be rowed about the Water in order to find out the most convenient Place for Landing upon the Enemy : which they perceiving, thought fit, by a timely Submission, to prevent the Danger that threatened them ; and having expressed their Desires to that purpose, Commissioners were appointed on both Parts to treat. The Articles were the same in effect with those granted to the Irish in *Leinster* and other Places. But much time was spent in the discussion of some Particulars, especially that concerning the Murder of the English, which was an Exception we never failed to make ; so that the Irish Commissioners seeming doubtful whether by the wording that Article they were not all included, desired that it might be explained ; to which we consented, and it was accordingly done. They also made it their Request, that instead of that Article relating to their real Estates, whereby they were to enjoy such a part as should be allotted to them by the Qualifications to be agreed upon, it might be expressed, that they wholly submitted to the Mercy of the Parliament therein. The Exercise also of their Religion was earnestly insisted upon by them ; but we refused to oblige ourselves to any thing in that Particular, declaring
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only, that it was neither the Principle or Practice of the Authority which we served, to impose their way of Worship upon any by violent means. With these Explanations the Commissioners, after a Fortnight's Debate, concluded the Agreement, the Lord *Muskerry* and my self confirming it; his Son with Sir *Daniel O'bryan* were delivered to me as Hostages for the performance of the Articles: in consequence of which about five thousand Horse and Foot laid down their Arms, and surrendered their Horses.

Whilst this was doing in *Munster*, Col. *Grace* with some Forces that had not submitted, passed the *Shannon*, and being joined by many of the Irish of *Connaught* and *Galway*, began to grow considerable, being about three thousand; most of them Foot. Col. *Ingoldsby* having notice of them, drew together a Party about *Limerick*, and marching with them to find out the Enemy, attacked them at a Pass, which they disputed for some time; but our Horse breaking in upon some of their Foot, and encouraging the rest to fall on, the Irish quitted their Post, and shifted for themselves. In this Action many of them were killed and taken Prisoners, the rest escaping to the Bogs and Woods. After this Defeat Col. *Grace* and his Party was forced to submit, and to that end treated with Col. *Zanehey*, but found that his obstinate Resistance so long had done him no Service; for Col. *Zanehey* upon the Surrender of

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Jack to him, and the Submission of Col. *Grace's* Forces, caused a Captain, a Lieutenant, and a Serjeant, with other Officers, to be shot to death, for revolting at *Carrick* to the Enemy, according to the Liberty he had reserved to himself in that case by the Capitulation, In the North of *Ireland* Col. *Theophilus Jones* being sent out with seven Troops of Horse, one of Dragoons, and three hundred Foot, to get Provisions for the Relief of those Parts, met with a Party of the Enemy, consisting of sixteen hundred Foot and three hundred Horse, whom he charged, and after a sharp Dispute routed, and put to flight, killing many of their Officers, and three hundred Soldiers upon the Place. All the Arms of their Foot were taken, and a hundred and fifty Horse, with the Loss only of six of our Men killed, and about twenty wounded. The Earl of *Clanrickard* finding the Irish Affairs in a desperate Condition, with what Forces he had left retired into the Isle of *Carrick*; where being encompassed by our Men on all sides, he submitted, and obtained Liberty to transport himself with three thousand Men to any foreign Country in Friendship with the Commonwealth, within the space of three Months.

The Parliament having already sent over to us five Companies of Foot under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel *Finch*, who had done very good Service at the Battel of *Worcester*, resolved to send eight hundred more out of the
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Regiment of Major Gen. *Lambert*, and an intire Regiment commanded by Col. *Clark*; which Forces were procured rather to promote the Designs of General *Cromwell*, than from any need we had of them; our Military Service in *Ireland*, by the Blessing of God, drawing towards a Conclusion, most of the Irish Forces having submitted and laid down their Arms, no Garison of any Strength holding out against us, and many Thousands of the Enemy sent into foreign Service. The Souldiers of *Lambert's* Regiment were countermanded upon his refusal to go to *Ireland* without the Character of Deputy; but the Regiment of Col. *Clark* being throughly principled for *Cromwell's* Design, continued their March by order of the Parliament, who were perswaded to constitute Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* Commander in Chief of their Forces in *Ireland*, and one of their Commissioners for the Civil Affairs in that Nation.

The States General, upon the Return of their Ambassadors from *England*, dispatched Orders to their Admiral to take all Advantages against the English, and solicited the King of *Denmark* to break with us also, encouraging him to detain twenty two English Merchant Ships which he had formerly seized coming through the *Sound*. The Parliament, to prevent the Dangers that might ensue by farther Delay, gave Orders to General *Blake* to fall upon the Subjects of *Holland* wheresoever he should meet

them, and particularly to interrupt their Fishery upon the Northern Coast, sending the Regiments of Col. *Ingoldsby* and Col. *Goff* on board the Fleet. General *Blake* having received these Instructions, set sail for the North, where meeting with about six hundred Herring-Busses, under a Convoy of twelve Men of War, he took and sunk the whole Convoy ; and having seized the Fish that the Busses had taken, he released all the Vessels with the Seamen belonging to them. Which Action was blamed by some, who thought that by the help of those Ships we might have been enabled to erect a Fishery, and thereby have made some Reparation to the English Nation for the Damages which they had sustained from the Dutch ; and that by detaining their Mariners we might have weakened and distressed them considerably, they wanting Men for the management of their Shippings. In the mean time Sir *George Asseue*, who was lately returned from the Reduction of *Barbadoes*, and had convoyed into the River five Merchant Ships richly laden from the *East Indies*, fell upon a Fleet of Hollanders consisting of forty Merchant-men under the Convoy of four Men of War. Of this Fleet he took seven, forced divers on shore, and the rest narrowly escaped. About the same time a Ship from *Guiny*, valued at forty thousand Pounds, was by some of ours taken from the Dutch, with many other rich Ships, to the great Prejudice and Interruption of their Trade. To apply

ply some Remedy to this, the Dutch Admiral with his Fleet came into the *Downs*, and anchored by Sir *George Asstae*, who was retired unto *Dover-Castle*, being much inferiour in Number to the Enemy; but the Hollanders after a short stay left our Fleet, and set sail, without attempting any thing against us. At *Leghorn* some of their Men of War preparing to seize such English Merchants Ships as lay in that Port, the Grand Duke sent a Message to the Dutch, to let them know, that if they committed any Acts of Hostility against the English Nation in that Harbour, their Goods in the Town should be responsible for it. Admiral *Blake* returned to the *Downs*, and being informed that a French Fleet was going to relieve *Dunkirk*, then besieged by the Spaniards, called a Council of War, and by their Advice sent a Squadron after them, which coming up with the French, took divers of their Ships, and dispersed the rest; by which means chiefly the Town was soon after surrendered.

The Irish being reduced to Extremity, and most of the Country in the hands of the English, the Parliament resolved to give the Adventurers Possession of Lands proportionable to the several Sums they had advanced, and also to satisfy the Arrears of the Army out of the same, as they had formerly promised: which that they might be enabled to perform, they passed an Act, confiscating so much of the Estates of those who had acted against the

English, as they judged the Quality of their Crimes to require, and extending their Clemency to those who had carried themselves peaceably. In the mean time that I might bring such as remained yet in Arms against us to a necessity of submitting, I marched with a Party of about four thousand Horse and Foot; and having scoured the Counties of *Wexford* and *Wicklo*, placing Garisons where I thought convenient, I went to *Tredagh*, where I met the rest of the Parliament's Commissioners; and having staid eight days in that Place to settle Affairs, I continued my March into the County of *Meath*, and coming to *Carrick Mac Ross*, a House belonging to the Earl of *Essex*, where the Rebels had barbarously murdered one Mr. *Blany* a Justice of Peace in that Country, I caused it to be fortified, and put a Garison in it, being advantageously situated to restrain the Enemies Exursions. From hence I went to visit the Garison of *Dundalk*, and being upon my Return, I found a Party of the Enemy retired within a hollow Rock, which was discovered by one of ours, who saw five or six of them standing before a narrow Passage at the Mouth of the Cave. The Rock was so thick, that we thought it impossible to dig it down upon them, and therefore resolved to try to reduce them by Smoak. After some of our Men had spent most part of the day in endeavouring to smother those within by Fire placed at the Mouth of the Cave, they withdrew the
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Fire, and the next Morning supposing the Irish to be made uncapable of Resistance by the Smoak, some of them with a Candle before them crawled into the Rock. One of the Enemy who lay in the middle of the Entrance fired his Pistol, and shot the first of our Men into the Head, by whose Loss we found that the Smoak had not taken the designed effect. But seeing no other way to reduce them, I caused the Trial to be repeated, and upon examination found that tho a great Smoak went into the Cavity of the Rock, yet it came out again at other Crevices; upon which I ordered those Places to be closely stopped, and another Smother made. About an hour and half after this, one of them was heard to groan very strongly, and afterwards more weakly, whereby we presumed that the Work was done; yet the Fire was continued till about Midnight, and then taken away, that the Place might be cool enough for ours to enter the next Morning. At which time some went in armed with Back, Breast, and Head piece, to prevent such another Accident as fell out at their first Attempt; but they had not gone above six Yards before they found the Man that had been heard to groan, who was the same that had killed one of our Men with his Pistol, and who resolving not to quit his Post, had been, upon stopping the holes of the Rock, choaked by the Smoak. Our Souldiers put a Rope about his Neck, and drew him out. The Passage being

cleared, they entred, and having put about fifteen to the Sword, brought four or five out alive, with the Priest's Robes, a Crucifix, Chalice, and other Furniture of that kind. Those within preserved themselves by laying their Heads close to a Water that ran through the Rock. We found two Rooms in the Place, one of which was large enough to turn a Pike; and having filled the Mouth of it with large Stones, we quitted it, and marched to *Castle-Blany*, where I left a Party of Foot, and some Horse, as I had done before at *Carrick* and *Nenry*, whereby that part of the County of *Monaghan* was pretty well secured. We continued our March to *Monaghan*, and so to *Aghur*, where we cast up some Works, and left a Garrison to defend it. Near this Place lay the *Cregbs* of Lieutenant General *O Neal*, Son to that *O Neal* who after several Years Imprisonment in the Tower of *London* died there: He came over from the Service of the King of *Spain* to be Lieutenant General to the Army of *Owen Roe O Neal*; but upon some Jealousy or particular Discontent was laid aside. This Man with his Wife, who he said was Niece to the Dutchess of *Artois*, and some Children, removed, as the Irish do generally in those Parts, with their Tenants and Cattel, from one Place to another; where there is Conveniency of Grass, Water and Wood; and there having built a House, which they do compleatly in an hour or two, they stay till they want Grass, and

and then dislodg to another Station. This way of living is accompanied with many Inconveniences to the Publick Service; for they not only give shelter to the Enemy, but take all Advantages themselves both to plunder and kill, none knowing whence they come, or whether they go, and so can neither easily be prevented nor found out. From hence I marched to *Inishkillin* in the County of *Fermagh*, that I might take a view of the Place, and likewise provide Materials to fortify *Lesneskey*, otherwise *Bally Balfoor*, and to reduce an Island kept by the Irish in *Loughbern*, with another Fort, they possessed near *Bulturbet*. Being at *Lesneskey*, I was met by Commissary General *Reynolds*, who with a Party of Horse and Foot had dispersed the Enemy in *Letrim*. Having fortified this Place, and made some Preparations for the Reduction of the Island before-mentioned, I received Advice from the Commissioners of Parliament at *Dublin*, that Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* had landed at *Waterford*, and was gone to *Kilkenny*, where they designed to attend him. The News of his Arrival was very welcome to me, having found my Care and Fatigues recompensed only with Envy and Hatred; and therefore having given Orders where I was for the carrying on the Publick Service, I hastned after the Commissioners; and being come to *Kilkenny*, I saluted the Commander in Chief, and congratulated his safe Arrival; after which I gave him an Account

count of the Affairs of the Army, with Assurances of my Resolution to obey his Orders. In this place Col. *Walter Bagnal*, who had been one of the Hostages delivered to us for the performance of the Treaty concluded with those of the Province of *Leinster*, was by the Marshal detained Prisoner upon an Accusation brought against him for the Murder of an English-Man: which Crime being excepted out of those Articles, and all others at any time granted to the Irish, the Commissioners thought themselves obliged in duty to put him upon his Trial, and to that end caused him to be brought before them, where upon full Proof they condemned him to be shot to death; which Sentence was executed accordingly. The Lieutenant General remained some time at *Kilhenry*; but the Commissioners having dispatched their Affairs in those Parts, returned to *Dublin*, and I accompanied them thither.

The *Holland Fleet* appearing off the *Goodwin Sands*, Admiral *Blake* hastned the Foot Souldiers aboard, and set Sail after them; but they tacked about, and made away towards the French Coast; where being joined by the Ships commanded by Vice Admiral *De Ruyter*, they returned towards our Fleet, and came within six Leagues of the North Foreland. Capt. *Mildmay* in the *Nonpareille*, about four in the Afternoon, exchanged some Shot with them; and soon after the English Admiral, with a few more, came up also, the rest of the Fleet by reason

reason of bad Weather being yet far behind. The Dutch kept themselves close together, firing several single Shot at ours, which our Admiral thought not fit to answer, till the rest of his Fleet was come up to him, and then he began to fire on the Admiral of *Holland*. The Fight lasted from five till seven, when Night parted them, the Reer-Admiral of the Enemy having lost all his Masts, and two more of their Ships most part of their Rigging. Capt. *Mildmay* followed them close, and being come up with them, commanded his small Shot to be fired into that Ship that made most sail, immediately after which he boarded and took her. This done, he pursued another, and in half an hour overtook her, and forced her to yield also, In one of these Ships was the Dutch Reer-Admiral, whom Capt. *Mildmay* took out, with the rest of the Men, and then let her sink, she being so disabled, that he despaired of bringing her off. The next Morning our Fleet pursued the Dutch, who made away with all possible speed, and about four in the Afternoon bore up with them; but none of our great Ships except the Admiral being able to reach them, the Night separated them again. The next day the Dutch recovered *Goree* and others of their Harbours, so that our Fleet thought fit to desist any farther pursuit of them. On our side we had but three of our Men and Capt. *Jarvis* killed, with about twenty wounded. The Enemies Loss was considerable, many of their
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Men being killed and wounded, besides several taken Prisoners ; and three of their Ships sunk and taken. Fourteen more were also brought into their Ports much damaged in the Engagement, with great Numbers of wounded Men on board. Their Fleet coming to *Gorée*, the Captains were forbidden to come a shore till Enquiry should be made touching those who had refused to fight in the first Encounter with the English. Hereupon the Enmity of the Dutch against the English Nation grew to such a height, that to render them odious, and to encourage their own Subjects to come in to serve against them, they caused the Execution of the late King to be represented on the Stage in a most tragical manner : Insomuch that those of the Prince of *Orange's* Party were not without hopes that the States of *Holland* would rather surrender their Liberties to the Prince, than quietly suffer *England* to live under the Government of a Commonwealth. Some Prejudice we received in two Encounters with the Dutch in the Mediterranean Sea ; but those slight Successes were wholly owing to their Number, and not at all to their Courage or Conduct.

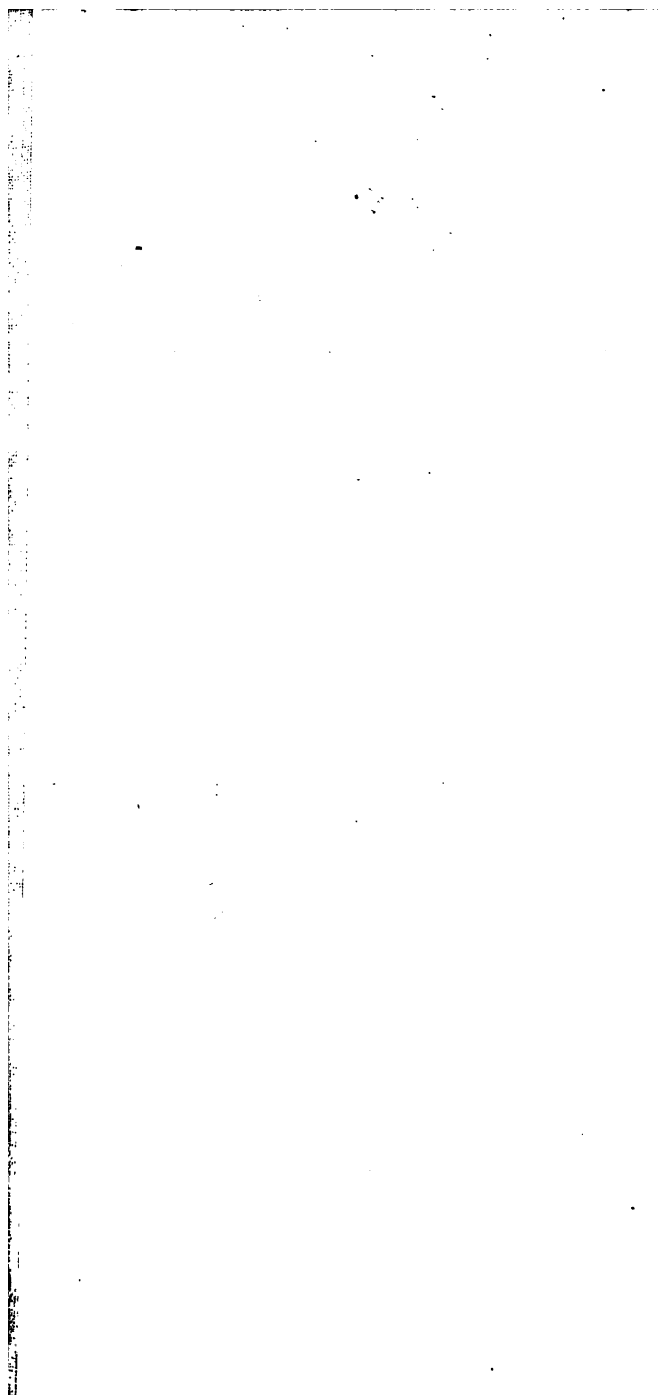
The Parliament gave Audience to Ambassadors from *Venice* and *Portugal*, referring the Consideration of their Instructions to the Council of State, who were required to report their Opinions touching them to the Parliament. They also ordered a Letter to be drawn up and dispatched to the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, to give

give him Thanks for the good Usage received from him by the English Merchants at *Leghorn*. About the same timethirty Frigats were appointed to be built, as well to increase the Fleet, as to secure the Trade of the Nation by Cruising. Eighteen Men of War were likewise sent into the *Sound* under the Conduct of Capt. *Hall*, who at his Arrival before *Elsenore*, delivered a Letter to the Governour of that Place for the King of *Denmark*, with Assurances that he was come thither for no other end than to convoy home two and twenty English Merchant Ships formerly seized by the said King at *Copenhagen*. The King of *Denmark* seemed much offended that Capt. *Hall* had entred the *Sound* without his leave, and sent four thousand Men to *Cronenburg* and *Elsenore*, to reinforce those Places, giving Orders to his Fleet to join with the *Hollanders*, who were not far off, and to fight the English in case they attacked the Dutch. These great Preparations obliged Capt. *Hall* to retire from thence, and to return to *Newcastle*. Hereupon the Danish Ambassador at *London* had his Audience of Leave from the Parliament, and his Master began to prepare twenty Ships of War for the Assistance of the Dutch, alledging himself bound so to do by a Treaty with them: In order to which he caused the Goods belonging to the English to be taken out of the two and twenty Ships before-mentioned, and to be sold, declaring openly for the *Hollanders*.

In the mean time the Reformation of the Law went on but slowly, it being the Interest of the Lawyers to preserve the Lives, Liberties and Estates of the whole Nation in their own hands. So that upon the Debate of *Registering Deeds in each Country, for want of which; within a certain time fixed after the Sale, such Sales should be void, and being so registred, that Land should not be subject to any Incumbrance* : This word *Incumbrance* was so managed by the Lawyers, that it took up three Months time before it could be ascertained by the Committee.

The End of the First Part.

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whom he called Souldiers of Fortune, that made a trade of the War, and valued not the Lives or Happiness of the People. This wrought the desired effect, and so encouraged the complying Party, that it was carried for a Treaty, and Commissioners again appointed on each side. We insisted that about seventeen of the principal Persons in the Place should be excepted out of the Articles, of which number were Col. *Hugh O Neal* the Governour, the Mayor of the City, the Bishops of *Limerick* and *Emmene*, Major General *Purcel*, Sir *Geoffrey Galloway*, Sir *Jeffrey Barrow*, one *Wolf* a Priest, Sir *Richard Everard* and others. But these made so strong a Party that the Treaty was broke up without any Agreement, and no other way left to reduce them but by Force. In order to which the Deputy caused the great Guns to be landed from the Ships, and others to be brought from the adjacent Garisons. With these he erected a Battery against the Town in the most convenient Place that could possibly have been found, being against a part of the Wall, which tho it was of the same Height and Thickness with the rest of it, and also as well flanked; yet it proved not to be lined with Earth within, as all the other Parts were, nor had any Counterscarp without.

In the mean time the Parliament seeing a Period put to the War in *England* and *Scotland*, and that of *Ireland* drawing towards a Conclusion, resolved to gratify such Officers as the General recom-

recommended to their Favour; and thereupon settled a thousand Pounds yearly on Major General *Lambert*, three hundred on Major General *Overton*, the same on Col. *Pride* and Col. *Whalley*; five hundred Pounds annually on Commissary General *Reynolds*, a thousand Pounds *per annum* on the Lord *Broghil*. They also settled four thousand Pounds a Year on the Lord General himself, out of the Estates of the Duke of *Buckingham* and Marquiss of *Worcester*, besides the two thousand five hundred Pounds a Year formerly granted. This they did to oblige him by all means possible to the performance of his Duty, or to leave him without excuse if he should depart from it. They ordered also an Act to be brought in for settling two thousand Pounds *per annum* on the Lord Deputy *Ireton*; the News of which being brought over, was so unacceptable to him, that he said, *They had many just Debts, which he desired they would pay before they made any such Presents; that he had no need of their Land, and therefore would not have it; and that he should be more contented to see them doing the Service of the Nation, than so liberal in disposing of the Publick Treasure.* And truly I believe he was in earnest; for as he was always careful to husband those things that beloned to the State to the best Advantage, so was he most liberal in employing his own Purse and Person in the Publick Service.

Our Battery being now in order, and the Regiments that were appointed to storm disposed to their several Posts, we began to fire; directing all our Shot to one particular part of the Wall, wherein we made such a Breach, that the Enemy not daring to run any farther Hazard, beat a Parley, and soon came to a Resolution to surrender upon the Articles we had offered before, delivering up the East-gate of the out-Town, which was separated by a River, having a Draw-bridg over it from the other Town. The Deputy ordered all the Arms and Ammunition to be carefully preserved, and the Souldiers who were not of the Town, to be drawn up between the Place and our Army, that such as desired it might have Convoys to conduct them to their respective Parties; and that those who would return to their Habitations, might have Passes granted to that effect. The Governour Col. *Hugh O Neal* met the Deputy at the Gate, where he presented him with the Keys of the City, and gave order for the marching out of the Souldiers, who were not Townsmen, according to the Articles. They were in number about two thousand five hundred Men. As they were marching out, two or three of them fell down dead of the Plague. Several of them also lay unburied in the Church-yard. The Governour waited on the Deputy to shew him the Stores of Arms, Ammunition and Provisions, which were sufficient to have lasted near three Months longer.

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He shewed him also the Fortifications, and whatsoever else he desired of him, withal acquainting him that nine or ten of those who were excepted from the Benefit of the Articles had surrendred themselves to his Mercy, and were waiting his Orders in a certain House which he named: Upon which the Deputy commanded a Guard to be set upon them, and committed the Governour also to their Custody. The Bishop of *Emmene* and Major General *Purcel*, with *Wolf* the Priest, were taken in the Pest-house, where they had hid themselves. *Jeffery Barrow* and Sir *Geoffrey Galloway* surrendred themselves. Two days after the Delivery of the Town the Mayor came to the Place of Worship, where our Court of Guard was met; and whether by his Words or Actions he gave cause of Suspicion I cannot tell, but they seized him, and upon Examination found who he was; whereupon they committed him to Prison. The Bishop of *Limerick* was the only Person excepted that was yet undiscovered; but we afterwards understood him to be one of a more peaceable Spirit than the rest. A Court Martial was assembled, and the Bishop of *Emmene*, with Major General *Purcel*, required to acquaint them, if they had any thing to say why they should not die according to the Sentence passed upon them. The Bishop said, that having many Sins to confess, he desired time to prepare himself to that purpose, which was granted. Major General *Purcel* fell

upon his Knees, and begged earnestly for his Life, but that was denied. This poor Man was of so low a Spirit, that wanting Courage at the time of his Execution, he stood in need of two Musqueteers to support him. The Bishop died with more Resolution, and *Wolf* the Priest was also executed. The Governour and *Jeffrey Barrow* were also condemned to die; but the Deputy resolving to hear them, demanded of the Governour what he had to say for himself: who answered, that the War had been long on foot before he came over; that he came upon the Invitation of his Country-men; that he had always demeaned himself as a fair Enemy; and that the ground of his Exception from the Articles, being his encouraging to hold out, tho there was no hope of Relief, was not applicable to him, who had always moved them to a timely Surrender, as indeed he made it appear; and therefore hoped, that he should enjoy the Benefit of the Articles, in confidence of which he had faithfully delivered up the Keys of the Town, with all the Arms, Ammunition and Provisions, without Embezzlement, and his own Person also to the Deputy. But the Blood formerly shed at *Clonmel*, where this Col. *O Neal* was Governour, had made such an Impression on the Deputy, that his Judgment, which was of great weight with the Court, moved them a second time to vote him to die, tho some of us earnestly opposed it, for the Reasons before mentioned by himself; and

and because whatsoever he had been guilty of before, had no relation to these Articles, which did not at all exempt him from being called to an account by the Civil Magistrate for the same. The Court having passed Sentence of Death a second time against him, the Deputy, who was now entirely freed from his former manner of adhering to his own Opinion, which had been observed to be his greatest Infirmity, observing some of the Officers to be unsatisfied with this Judgment, referred it again to the Consideration of the Court, who by their third Vote consented to save his Life. *Jeffrey Barrow* having the same Question put to him with the rest, answered, that it was not just to exclude him from Mercy, because he had been engaged in the same Cause as we pretended to fight for, which was for the Liberty and Religion of his Country. The Deputy replied, That *Ireland* being a Conquered Country, the English Nation might with Justice assert their Right and Conquest: That they had been treated by the late Government far beyond their Merits, or the Rules of Reason; notwithstanding which they had barbarously murdered all the English that fell into their hands, robbed them of their Goods which they had gained by their Industry, and taken away the Lands which they had purchased with their Money: That touching the Point of Religion, there was a wide Difference also between us, we only contending to preserve our natural Right therein,

without imposing our Opinions upon other Men; whereas they would not be contented unless they might have Power to compel all others to submit to their Impositions upon pain of Death. The Council of War, looking upon what he had said for himself to be hereby fully refuted, adjudged him to die, as they did the Mayor also; and the Sentence was executed accordingly.

Limerick being taken, it was debated in a Council of War, whether we should march to *Galway* in order to reduce that Place, which had been besieged for some time by Sir *Charles Coote* and Commissary General *Reynolds*. I concurred with the Deputy, that the Garrison being under a great Consternation by the Loss of *Limerick*, would probably be soon brought to Reason; but most of the Officers complaining of the ill Condition of their Men through Sickness and hard Service, representing also the near approach of Winter, we being already entered into the Month of *November*, the Deputy contented himself to send only a Summons to General *Preston* Governour of *Galway*, with Offers of such Conditions as were first tendred to those of *Limerick*, assuring him at the same time, that if he refused them, he should have no better than they had been lately obliged to submit to. This Proposition he rejected; but being unwilling to hazard the Event, took Shipping soon after, and went beyond Sea.

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Whilst the Deputy was settling Affairs at *Limerick*, he ordered me with a Party to march into the County of *Clare* to reduce some Places in those Parts. Accordingly I marched with about two thousand Foot and fifteen hundred Horse to *Inchcroghan*, fifteen Miles from *Limerick*; but it being late before we began our March, and Night overtaking us before we could reach that Place, as we were passing the Bridge, one of my Horses that carried my Waters and Medicines fell into the River, which proved a great Loss to me, as things fell out afterwards. The next day I came before *Clure-Castle*, and summoned it, whereupon they sent out Commissioners to treat, tho the Place was of very great Strength; and after three or four hours Debate, we came to an Agreement, by which the Castle was to be delivered to me the next Morning, the Enemy leaving Hostages with us for the performance of their part. That Night I lay in my Tent upon a Hill, where the Weather being very tempestuous, and the Season far advanced, I took a very dangerous Cold. The next Morning the Enemy marched out of the Castle, and received Passes from me to return home, according to the Articles. After which having appointed Col, *Faulk* and a Garrison to defend it, I marched towards *Carickgoholt*. That Night my Cold increased, and the next Morning I found my self so much discomposed, that Adjutant General *Allen*, who was then with us, earnestly pressed

me to go aboard one of the Vessels that attended our Party with Ammunition, Artillery and Provisions and to appoint a Person to command them in my Absence. But being unwilling to quit the Charge committed to my Care, I cloathed my self as warm as I could, putting on a Fur Coat over my Buff, and an Oiled one over that; by which means I prevented the farther Increase of my Distemper, and so ordered our Quarters that Night, that I lay in my own Bed set up in an Irish Cabin, where about break of day I fell into so violent a Sweat, that I was obliged to keep with me two Troops of Horse for my Guard, after I had given Orders for the rest of the Men to march. In this Condition I continued about two hours, and tho my Sweating had not ceased, I mounted in order to overtake my Party, who had a bitter day to march in, the Wind and the Hail beating so violently in our Faces, that the Horses being not able to endure it, often turned about. Yet in this Extremity of Weather the poor Foot were necessitated to wade through a Branch of the Sea, near a quarter of a Mile over, up to the Waste in Water. At Night we arrived within view of *Carickgoholt*, my Distemper being but little abated, and my Body in a continual Sweat. The next day I summoned the Garrison to surrender the Castle: In answer to which they sent out Commissions to treat, who at first insisted upon very high Terms; but finding us resolved not to grant their Propositions,

positions, they complied with ours, and the next day surrendered the Place. Liberty was given by the Articles to such as desired it, to go and join the Lord *Muskerry's* Party in the County of *Kerry*: the rest to return home, with promise of Protection as long as they behaved themselves peaceably, expecting only such who should appear to have been guilty of Murder in the first Year of the War, or afterwards. Having placed a Garison in *Carickgoholt*, I returned towards *Limerick*, and being on my March thither, I was met by an Officer of the Guard, with Orders from the Deputy for my Return; who thinking it impossible to reduce this Garison by Force in such a Season, was unwilling that the Souldiers should remain longer in the Field, exposed to such cruel and sharp Weather. The Messenger also acquainted me, that the Deputy was coming towards us, which he did, as well to view the Country, in order to the more equal distribution of Winter-quarters and Garisons, as to let us see that he would not command any Service, but such as he was willing to take a share of himself. Upon this advice I hastened with a Party to meet him, giving Orders for the rest to follow as fast as they could conveniently. At our Meeting I gave him an account of what I had done, with which he was very well satisfied. After two days March, without any thing remarkable but bad Quarters, we entred into the Barony of *Burren*, of which it is said, that it is a
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Country where there is not Water enough to drown a Man, Wood enough to hang one, nor Earth enough to bury him; which last is so scarce, that the Inhabitants steal it from one another, and yet their Cattle are very fat; for the Grass growing in Turfs of Earth, of two or three Foot square, that lie between the Rocks, which are of Limestone, is very sweet and nourishing. Being in these Parts we went to *Lennane*, a House of that *Connor O Bryan* whom we had killed near *Incheatoghuan*; and finding it indifferent strong, being built with Stone, and having a good Wall about it, we put a Garison into it, and furnished it with all things necessary. The next day the Deputy with a Party of Horse went to view some other Places where he designed to appoint Garisons, in order to prevent the sending of Provisions into *Galway*, to which this Country lies contiguous. I was very desirous to attend him according to my Duty, but he having observed my Distemper to continue upon me, would not permit it; and when I pressed it more earnestly, he positively commanded me to stay. That day there fell abundance of Rain and Snow, which was accompanied with a very high Wind, where the Deputy took a very great Cold that discovered it self immediately upon his Return; but we could not perswade him to go to Bed, till he had determined a Cause that was before him and the Court Martial, touching an Officer of the Army, who was
accused

accused of some Violence done to the Irish ; and as in all Cases he carried himself with the utmost impartiality, so he did in this, dismissing the Officer, tho otherwise an useful Man, from his Command for the same. The next day we marched towards *Clare-Castle*, and found the way so rocky, that we rode near three Miles together upon one of them, whereby most of our Horses cast their Shoes ; so that though every Troop came provided with Horse-shoes, which were delivered to them out of the Stores, yet before that day's March was over, a Horse-shoe was sold for five Shillings.

The next morning the Lady *Honorina O'bryan*, Daughter to the late Earl of *Thomond*, being accused of protecting the Goods and Cattle of the Enemy, under pretence that they belonged to her, and thereby abusing the favour of the Deputy's Safeguard, which he had granted to her, came to him ; and being charged by him with it, and told, that he expected a more ingenuous Carriage from her ; she burst out into Tears, and assured him, if he would forgive her, that she would never do the like again, desiring me, after the Deputy was withdrawn, to intercede with him for the continuance of his favour to her ; which when I acquainted him with, he said, *As much a Cynick as I am, the Tears of this Woman moved me ;* and thereupon gave order that his Protection should be continued to her. From hence I would have attended him to *Limerick* ; but so much more
care

care did he take of me than of himself, that he would not suffer it; desiring me to go that day, being Saturday, and quarter at *Bowratto*, a House of the Earl of *Thomond's*, in order to recover my health, and to come to him on Monday morning at *Limerick*. Accordingly I came, and found the Deputy grown worse, having been let blood, and sweating exceedingly, with a burning Fever at the same time. Yet for all this he ceased not to apply himself to the Publick business, settling Garisons and distributing Winter-quarters, which was all that remained to be done of the Military Service for that year. I endeavoured to perswade him, as I had often done before, that his immoderate Labours for his Country would much impair, if not utterly destroy him; but he had so totally neglected himself during the Siege of *Limerick*, not putting off his Clothes all that time, except to change his Linen, that the malignant Humours which he had contracted, wanting room to perspire, became confined to his Body, and rendered him more liable to be infected by the Contagion. I was unwilling to leave him till I saw the event of his Distemper; but he supposing my Family was by this time come to *Dublin*, would not permit me to stay, and I finding I could in no way be serviceable to him, submitted to his desires. I found the Commissioners of Parliament at *Dublin*, and acquainted them with the State of Affairs in those Parts from whence I came, and with the Resolutions

lutions taken by the Deputy at *Limerick* ; but soon after my arrival, the sad news of his Death was brought to us, which was universally lamented by all good Men, more especially because the Publick was thereby deprived of a most faithful, able and useful Servant.

The Commissioners of Parliament taking into their consideration what method to observe in that Conjuncture, and presuming that my Command in the Army was next to that of the Deputy, resolved by a Letter to acquaint the Officers of our Forces in *Ireland* with their Judgment, and to require them to yield Obedience to me accordingly, I earnestly desired them to forbear sending any such Letter, which I did, not out of a feigned modesty, but from a real sense of the weight of such an Undertaking, and my own inability to perform the duty of that important Station : For though the Work seemed to be almost finished, yet there remained great Difficulties behind, the Enemy possessing some strong Places and Islands, and having many thousands yet in the Field ; there being also in the Parliament's Pay between seven and eight thousand Horse and Dragoons, with above two and twenty thousand Foot. For these and other Reasons I desired them that they would reserve the Power to themselves, till the Parliament should send over some Person to undertake that Employment, which they might do soon enough ; the season of Action being already past, the
Troops

Troops dispersed into their Winter-quarters, and nothing of importance likely to be done before the next Spring ; acquainting them, that being one of their number, I could be as serviceable in their Deliberations and Resolutions, as if I were entrusted with the sole Power. But all that I could say was not sufficient to dissuade them from sending the Letter before mentioned ; and tho it met with a general submission, yet I resolved not to undertake any thing without their Advice and Consent, which they readily promised to afford me.

Some of General *Cromwell's* Relations, who were not ignorant of his vast Designs now on foot, caused the Body of the Lord Deputy *Ire-*
son to be transported into *England*, and solemnly interred at *Westminster* in a magnificent Monument at the Publick Charge: Who if he could have foreseen what was done by them, would certainly have made it his desire that his Body might have found a Grave where his Soul left it, so much did he despise those pompous and expensive Vanities ; having erected for himself a more glorious Monument in the hearts of good Men, by his affection to his Country, his abilities of Mind, his impartial Justice, his diligence in the Publick Service, and his other Vertues, which were a far greater Honour to his Memory, than a Dormitory amongst the Ashes of Kings, who, for the most part, as they had governed others by their Passions, so were they themselves as much governed by them.

The

The Isles of *Scilly* and *Man* were reduced to the Obedience of the Commonwealth; but nothing extraordinary happening at their reduction, at least not coming to my knowledge, I purposely omit the relation of those Actions.

About this time we were informed that Sir *George Ayscue*, who had been sent by the Parliament to the Western Islands, which still continued in arms against them, arrived at the *Barbadoes* on the 26th of *October*, 1651. and having opened a Passage into the Harbour by firing some great Shot, seized upon twelve of their Ships without opposition. The next morning he sent a Summons to the Lord *Willoughby* to submit to the Authority of the Parliament of *England*; but he not acknowledging any such Power, declared his Resolution to keep the Island for the King's Service. But the News of the Defeat of the *Scots* and their King at *Worcester* being brought to Sir *George Ayscue*, together with an intercepted Letter from the Lady *Willoughby*, containing the same Account; he summoned him a second time, and accompanied his Summons with the Lady's Letter to assure him of the truth of that report. But the Lord *Willoughby* relying upon his Numbers, and the fewness of those that were sent to reduce him, being in all but fifteen Sail, returned an Answer of the like substance with the former. Whereupon Sir *George Ayscue* sent two hundred Men on shore, commanded by Captain *Morrice*, to attack a Quarter of the Enemies that

lay by the Harbour, which they executed successfully by taking the Fort and about forty Prisoners, with four Pieces of Cannon, which they nailed up, and returned on board again. At this time the *Virginia* Fleet arriving at the *Barbadoes*, it was thought fit to send a third Summons to the Lord *Willoughby*; but finding that neither this, nor the Declaration sent to them by the Commissioners of Parliament to the same purpose, produced any effect, Sir *George Ayscue* landed seven hundred Men from his own and the *Virginia* Fleet, giving the Command of them to the same Captain *Morrice*, who fell upon thirteen hundred of the Enemies Foot and three Troops of their Horse, and beat them from their Works, killing many of their Men, and taking about a hundred Prisoners, with all their Guns. The Losses on our side was inconsiderable, few of ours being killed upon the place, and not above thirty wounded. Yet these Successes were not sufficient to accomplish the Work, there being above five thousand Horse and Foot in the Island, and our *Virginia* Fleet preparing to depart for want of Provisions. In this conjunction Colonel *Muddisford*, who commanded a Regiment in the Island, by the means of a Friend that he had in our Fleet, made his Terms, and declared for the Parliament. Many of his Friends following his Example, did the like, and in conjunction with him encamped under the protection of our Fleet. Upon this the most part of the Island were inclined to join

us; but the Lord *Willoughby* prevented them by placing Guards on all the Avenues to our Camp, and designed to charge our Men with his Body of Horse, wherein he was much superior to them, had not a Cannon-Ball that was fired at random, beat open the door of a Room, where he and his Council of War were sitting; which taking off the Head of the Sentinel who was placed at the door, so alarmed them all, that he changed his design, and retreated to a Place two Miles distant from the Harbour. Our Party, consisting of two thousand Foot and one hundred Horse, advancing towards him, he desired to treat; which being accepted, Col. *Muddisford*, Col. *Collyton*, Mr. *Searl* and Cap. *Pack*, were appointed Commissioners by Sir *George Ayscue*; and by the Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *Richard Pierce*, Mr. *Charles Pym*, Col. *Ellis* and Major *Byham*. By these it was concluded, that the Islands of *Mevis*, *Antego* and *St. Christophers* should be surrendered to the Parliament of *England*: That the Lord *Willoughby*, Col. *Walrond*, and some others, should be restored to their Estates; and that the Inhabitants of the said Isles should be maintained in the quiet enjoyment of what they possessed, on condition to do nothing to the prejudice of the Commonwealth. This News being brought to *Virginia*, they submitted also, where one Mr. *George Ludlow*, a Relation of mine, served the Parliament in the like manner, as Col. *Muddisford* had done at the *Barbadoes*.

The Parliament of *England* being desirous after all these Successes, to convince even their Enemies, that their principal design was to procure the happiness and prosperity of all that were under their Government, sent Commissioners to *Scotland* to treat concerning an Union of that Nation with *England* in one Commonwealth ; directing them to take care, till that could be effected, that Obedience should be given to the Authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*. The Commissioners appointed to this end on the part of the Parliament, were Sir *Henry Vane*, the Chief Justice *St. Johns*, Mr. *Fenwick*, Major *Salloway*, Major General *Lambert*, Colonel *Titchborn*, Major General *Dean* and Colonel *Monk*. This Proposition of Union was cheerfully accepted by the most judicious amongst the *Scots*, who well understood how great a condescension it was in the Parliament of *England*, to permit a People they had conquered, to have a part in the Legislative Power.

The States-General being highly displeased with the late Act of Navigation passed by the Parliament, which they accounted to be a great obstruction to their Trade, resolved to leave no means unattempted to procure it to be repealed. To this end they sent three Ambassadors to *England*, who pretending a desire to finish the Treaty begun formerly between the Two States, requested that things might be as they were at the time of our Ambassador's departure

parture from *Holland*, designing thereby that the Act lately passed for the Encouragement of our Seamen should be suspended, and all such Merchandizes restored as had been seized from the Dutch by virtue of the said Act. The Parliament refusing to consent to this Proposal, the States-General gave Orders for the equipping a considerable Fleet, consisting of about a hundred Ships of War, giving notice to the Parliament by their Ambassadors of these Preparations, and assuring them that they were not design'd to offend the English Nation, with whom they desired to maintain a friendly Correspondence, and that they were provided to no other end, than to protect their own Subjects in their Trade and Navigation. But the Parliament being unwilling to rely upon the Promises of those, who by their past and present Actions had manifested little Friendship to us, resolved to make what Preparations they could to defend themselves.

This Alarm awakened us to a diligent performance of our Duty in *Ireland*, fearing that the *Hollanders* might transport some foreign Forces by their Fleet, to the Assistance of the Irish, who were not only still numerous in the Field, but had also divers Places of Strength to retreat to. Our Suspicions were farther increased by the Advices we received of a Treaty on foot between the Duke of *Lorain* and *Theobald Viscount Taff*, with other Irish, to bring the Forces of that Duke into *Ireland* against us,

in order to extirpate all Hereticks out of that Nation, to re-establish the Romish Religion in all Parts of it, and to restore the Irish to their Possessions ; all which being performed, he should deliver up the Authority to the King of *Great Britain*, and assist him against his Rebellious Subjects in *England* : That all *Ireland* should be ingaged for his Re-imbursement : That *Galway*, *Limerick*, *Athenree*, *Athlone*, *Waterford*, and the Fort of *Duncannon*, should be put into his hands as Cautionary Places, with other things of the same nature. The Report of this Agreement being spread amongst the Irish, encouraged them to make all possible Opposition against us, in expectation of the promised Succours. The Commissioners of the Parliament on the other hand, laboured with all diligence to dispose their Affairs in the best manner they could for the Publick Service ; in order to which they sent to the several Commanders of our Army to excite them to the discharge of their Duty, making provision of Arms, Ammunition, Clothes, Tents, and all things necessary to the carrying on the War in the ensuing Spring. A general Meeting of Officers was also appointed to be held at *Kilkenny* to consult about the best Method of employing our Arms against the Enemy ; And because the Propositions offered by the late Lord Deputy to those of *Galway*, had been no farther prosecuted by reason of his Death, Orders were dispatched to Sir *Charles Coote*, authorizing

rizing him to conclude with them, in case they should accept the Conditions at, or before the ninth of the next *January*. According to their Orders the Officers met at *Kilkenny*, by whom being informed of what they thought necessary for the ensuing Service, we acquainted the Parliament and Council of State with the Particulars of such things as were requisite, desiring them to send them over with all convenient speed; that no time might be lost, when the Season of the Year should permit us to take the Field. We published two Proclamations to prevent the Country from supplying the Enemy with Arms and other Necessaries; wherein drawing a Line as it were about the Irish Quarters, we required all Persons to withdraw themselves and their Goods from the places of their resort within a limited time; which if they refused to do, we declared them Enemies, and ordered all Officers and Souldiers to treat them accordingly: commanding also all Smiths, Armourers and Sadlers that lived in the Country to retire in twenty days with all their Families, Forges and Instruments, into some Garrison of the Parliament, on pain of forfeiture of their Goods and Tools, besides six Months Imprisonment for the first Offence, and of Death for the second. We ordered also that all those who had withdrawn themselves out of our Protection, and joined with the Enemy, since the coming over of General *Cromwell*, should be deprived of the benefit of Quarter. Having pub-

lished these and other Orders of the like tenour, we appointed the Lord Broghil, Commissary General Reynolds, Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Axton, and the rest of the Officers, to cause them to be put in execution, as occasion should require.

Having finished our Affairs at Kilkenny, and dismissed the Officers to their respective Quarters, I resolved to go to Portumna to make all things ready for the Siege of Galway. Being on my March on the other side of Nenagh, an advanced Party found two of the Rebels, one of whom was killed by the Guard before I came up to them, the other was saved : and being brought before me at Portumna, and I asking him if he had a mind to be hanged ? he only answered, *If you please* ; so insensibly stupid were many of these poor Creatures. The Commissioners having done their business in this Place, and given Directions for the carrying on the Siege of Galway, with Power to treat, as before mentioned, to Sir Charles Coote, we returned to Dublin, and at our arrival were informed, that the Barony of Burren relying upon the security of their places of Retreat, had refused to pay the Contributions which they had promised ; upon which Sir Hardress Waller had been obliged to lay the Country waste, and to seize what he could find, that it might be no longer useful to the Enemy. We had advice also from Ulster, that some of our Troops had killed and drowned about a hundred and forty Tories who infested that Province with their Robberies.

The

The time limited by the Proclamation, requiring the Irish to withdraw from the places mentioned therein, being expired, I marched with a Party of Horse and Foot into the Fastnesses of *Wicklo*, as well to make Examples of such as had not obeyed the Proclamation, as to place a Garison there, to prevent the Excursions of the Enemy. *Talbot's Town* was the Place I thought fittest for that end; which having rendered defensible against any sudden attempt, and furnished with all things necessary, I marched farther into the Country. The next morning I divided my Men into three Parties, sending away Colonel *Pretty* with one of them to his own Quarters, lest the Enemy should fall upon them in his absence; with the other two we scoured by different ways, the Passes and Retreats of the Irish, but met not with many of them; our Parties being so big, that the Irish, who had Sentinels placed upon every Hill, gave notice of our March to their Friends: so that upon our Approach, they still fled to their Bogs and Wood. When I came to *Dundrum*, a Place lying in the heart of the Enemy's Quarters, I perceived the Walls and Roof of an old Church standing, wherein I placed Captain *Jacob* with his Company; who was afterwards very serviceable against the Enemy. The like Methods being taken by the Lord *Broghil*, Colonel *Zanehey*, Colonel *Abbot* and other Officers, the Irish were reduced to great Extremities.

who continue still in Arms to oppose their Authority: That they cannot in Justice consent to an Act so prejudicial to the Peace of the Country, as would involve quiet and peaceable People in the same Prosecution with those who are in open Hostility: That they cannot grant safe Conducts to such as persist in their Opposition to the Parliament, to assemble from all Provinces, and to communicate their Designs to each other: But that all those who will lay down their Arms, and submit to the Commonwealth, shall have as favourable Conditions as they can justly expect.

This Resolution of the Commissioners being made publick, the Irish fell upon another Expedient: in pursuance of which the Earl of *Clanrickard*, who had been left Deputy by the Earl of *Ormond*, sent a Letter directed to me, then Commander in Chief of the Forces of the Parliament in *Ireland*, in the Words following.

S I R ;

“ **M** A N Y of the Nobility, Clergy, and
 “ other Persons of Quality, Subjects of
 “ this Kingdom, with the Corporation of *Gal-*
 “ *way*, having considered the present State of
 “ Affairs, and the ruinous Effects which this
 “ long War hath produced, have solicited me
 “ to desire of you a Conference for the esta-
 “ blishment of the Repose of this Nation, and
 “ to obtain a safe Conduct for the Commis-
 “ sioners,

“ oners, whom by their Advice I shall judge
 “ capable to be sent to you for that end. It is
 “ this which hath obliged me to send you an
 “ Express, with this Protestation, that I shall
 “ not abandon them, till I see such Conditions
 “ granted them, as they may with Honour ac-
 “ cept: for want of which I am resolved to
 “ continue the Authority and Protection of his
 “ Majesty over them, even to Extremity, not
 “ doubting but by Divine Assistance, with the
 “ Forces we have already, and the Succours
 “ which shall be sent us by his Majesty and
 “ Allies, we shall be found in a condition to
 “ change the present State of Affairs, or at least
 “ to render your former Conquests of little
 “ advantage; and in the end to sell our Lives
 “ at a dear rate if we shall be forced thereto:
 “ the which leaving to your Consideration, and
 “ expecting your certain Answer and Resolu-
 “ tion, I remain,

SIR,

24 March, 1652.

Your Servant,

CLANRICKARD.

P O S T S C R I P T.

“ If you please to send a safe Conduct, I
 “ desire it may be addressed to Sir *Charles Coote*,
 “ or whom you shall think fit near to this
 “ Place,

" Place, with a Pass for the number of five
 " Commissioners, and their Retinue of about
 " twenty Persons, to the end that having no-
 " tice thereof, I may send a List of the Names
 " of the said Commissioners.

To this I returned the following Answer,

My Lord ;

" IN answer to yours of the 24th of March,
 " I by which you propose a Treaty for the
 " Settlement of this Country, and desire a safe
 " Conduct for the Commissioners you shall
 " judg fit to employ in the management of that
 " Affair, I think fit, in pursuance of the Ad-
 " vice of the Commissioners of the Parliament
 " of *England*, and of many Officers of the
 " English Army; to advertise you, as hath
 " been already answered to those who have
 " sent Propositions of the like nature, That the
 " Settlement of this Nation doth of Right be-
 " long to the Parliament of the Common-
 " wealth of *England*, to whom we are ob-
 " liged in duty to leave it; being assured, that
 " they will not capitulate with those who
 " ought to submit to them, and yet oppose
 " themselves to their Authority, and upon vain
 " and frivolous hopes have refused such Offers
 " of Favour as they would gladly accept at
 " present: so that I fear they will be con-
 " strained to proceed against them with the
 " highest Severity; which that you may
 " pre-

"prevent by your timely Submission, is the
"Desire of,

My Lord,

Your humble Servant,

EDMUND LUDLOW.

That Passage in my Answer touching their Readiness to accept such Terms as they had formerly rejected, was grounded upon notice sent by Sir *Charles Coote*; that the Town of *Galway*, since the time limited by the Commissioners for their Submission was expired, desired a Treaty: whereupon I had acquainted him, that seeing the Besieged had refused the Conditions formerly offered, they ought not now to expect the like, after such an addition of Trouble and Charge as they had lately put us upon; yet for all this Caution Sir *Charles Coote* concluded a Treaty with them, immediately after the Return of my Answer to the Earl of *Clanrickard*; upon Conditions much more advantageous to them than those formerly proposed, and very prejudicial to the Publick, undertaking to get them ratified by the Commissioners of Parliament within twenty days, and in the mean time promising that they should be inviolably observed. The Commissioners of Parliament having received the Articles, and conceiving it to be unjust as well as impru-

imprudent to give the best Terms to those who made the longest Opposition, and of what dangerous Consequence it might be, if that Place were not fully secured to the English Interest, spent the whole Night in Consultation with the Officers of the Army, and in the end resolved, That they could not consent that any should receive the Benefit of those Articles who had been any way concerned in the murdering of the English in the first Year of the War : That they would not oblige themselves to permit any to live in *Galway*, whom they should hereafter think fit to remove from thence for the Security of the Place : That they cannot consent that the Burgesses shall enjoy any more than two thirds of their Estates lying near the Town : That they will not suffer the Habitations of such as have been forced to quit the Place upon the account of their Affection to the Parliament, to be detained from them. With these and some other Alterations they declared their Consent to the rest of the Articles before-mentioned ; which if those of the Town refused, they ordered that our Men should not enter ; and if entred, that they should restore the Possession of it to the Garison : but notwithstanding this Expedition, the Messenger that was dispatched with the Resolutions of the Commissioners, came too late, and all that could be obtained was a Promise from Sir *Charles Coote*, to endeavour to perswade those of *Galway* to accept of the Articles, with the

the Amendments made by the Commissioners.

The Parliament having resolved upon the Incorporation of *Scotland* with the Nation of *England* into one Free State or Commonwealth, and to reimburse themselves some part of that Treasure they had expended in their own Defence against the Invasions of the Scots, declared the Goods and Lands formerly belonging to the Crown of *Scotland* to be confiscated, and also those that were possessed by such Persons as had assisted in the Invasion of *England* by Duke *Hamilton* in the Year 1648, or had appeared in Arms since, under the King of Scots, in order to subvert the present Government; excepting those who since the Battel of *Dunbar* had abandoned the said King of Scots, and by their Merits and Services had rendred themselves worthy of Favour: That all such who are not comprehended under the said Qualifications, and shall concur with them in their just Enterprize, shall receive the Benefit of their Protection, and enjoy their Liberties and Goods equally with the free People of *England*. In pursuance of this Declaration of the Parliament, their Commissioners in *Scotland* published another, wherein they discharge from Confiscation all Merchants and Tradesmen, who possess not in Lands or Goods above the Value of five hundred Pounds, and are not Prisoners of War, Souldiers of Fortune, Moss-Troopers, or such as have killed or committed Outrages against

the English Souldiers, contrary to the Laws and Customs of War. They also emitted a Proclamation, abolishing in the name of the Parliament all manner of Authority and Jurisdiction derived from any other Power but that of the Commonwealth of *England*, as well in *Scotland* as in all the Isles belonging to it. After this they summoned the Counties, Cities and Boroughs, to agree to the Incorporation before mentioned; of which eighteen of one and thirty Counties, and twenty four of fifty six Cities and Boroughs consented to send their Deputies to the Parliament of *England*, most of the rest excusing themselves for want of Money to defray the Expences of their Representatives.

This Business being accomplished, and an Act passed for the Incorporation of *England* and *Scotland* into one Commonwealth, the Parliament were prevailed with by the Importunities of some of their own Members, and in particular of General *Cromwell*, that so he might fortify himself by the Addition of new Friends for the carrying on his Designs, to pass an Act of General Pardon and Amnesty: whereby tho it had thirty eight several Exceptions, many Persons who deserved to pay towards the Reimbursement of the Publick, no less than those who had been already fined, escaped the Punishment due to their Misdemeanours, and the Commonwealth was defrauded of great Sums of Money, by which means they were rendred
unable

unable to discharge many just Debts owing to such as had served them with Diligence and Fidelity.

In *Ireland* the Rebels were so pressed by our Forces in all Parts, that they began to think it necessary to treat about Conditions of Submission, and many of them obtained Liberty to be transported into foreign Service ; wherein the Commissioners of Parliament assisted them with Ships : so that the Irish Officers were in many Places deserted by their own Souldiers. Col. *Fitzpatrick* was the first who submitted, on condition to be transported with his Regiment into the Service of the King of *Spain*, which was a great blow to the Irish Confederacy, who were very desirous to treat in conjunction, hoping to obtain more favourable Terms, in consideration of their Numbers ; insomuch that they published Declarations against him, and the Irish Clergy excommunicated him, and all those who joined with him. Notwithstanding which Col. *Odowyer*, Commander in Chief of the Irish in the Counties of *Waterford* and *Tipperary*, followed his Example, and proposed a Treaty to Col. *Zanche*y, who having received Instructions from the Commissioners, concluded an Agreement with him ; the principal Articles whereof were to this effect : That the Arms and Horses belonging to the Brigade of Col. *Edmund Odowyer* shall be delivered up at a certain price : That he and his Party shall enjoy their personal Estates, and such a proportion

of their real Estates as others under their Qualification shall be permitted to do: That the Benefit of the Articles shall not extend to such as had murdered any of the English, or had been engaged in the Rebellion during the first Year; or to any Romish Priests, or to those who had been of the first General Assembly; those also who had taken away the Life of any of ours after Quarter given, and those who had deserted us and joined themselves to the Enemy, were excepted out of the Treaty: All others to have Liberty to live in our Quarters; or to transport themselves into the Service of any foreign State in Friendship with the Commonwealth of *England*.

Whilst the Ambassadors from *Holland* were in Treaty with the Commissioners appointed by the Parliament to that end, the Dutch Fleet consisting of forty three Ships of War, commanded by the Heer *Van Tromp*, came into the *Downs*. Major *Bourn* having with him a Squadron of eight Men of War, perceiving two of the Dutch Ships making sail towards him, sent to them to demand the Reason of their Approach; and an Answer being returned, that they had a Message to deliver from Admiral *Van Tromp* to the English Commander of that Squadron, they were permitted to come up to that purpose. The Captains of the two Dutch Ships, after they had saluted Major *Bourn* by striking the Flag, went on board him, and acquainted him, that they were sent by their Admiral

miral to let him know, that riding with his Fleet near *Dunkirk*, he had lost many Cables and Anchors by bad Weather, and was now brought by a North Wind more Southward than he designed, of which he thought himself obliged to give him notice to prevent any Misunderstanding. Major *Bourn* told them he was willing to believe what was said, and that the Truth of it would best appear by their speedy Retreat. With this Answer the two Captains returned to their Fleet; which coming within Cannon-shot of *Dover-Castle* with their Sails up, and Flag at the Top-mast, not saluting the Fort according to Custom, the Garison was constrained to fire three Guns at the *Hollanders*, to put them in mind of their Duty: But their Admiral made no Answer, and still keeping up his Flag, lay in the Road till the next day about Noon, at which time he weighed Anchor, and set sail towards *Calais*. The rest of the English Fleet consisting only of thirteen Men of War commanded by General *Blake*, who had been upon the Coast of *Sussex*, returning into the *Downs* soon after the Departure of the Dutch, was joined by Major *Bourn*, and those eight Ships he had with him. But Admiral *Van Tromp* being obliged to take care of some rich Merchant Ships bound home to *Holland* from the *Straits*, returned towards the *Downs*; and being come within Cannon-shot of our Fleet without striking their Flag, General *Blake* commanded three several Guns one after the

other to be fired at him. Whereupon he answered with one Gun, which shot through the English Flag, and followed it with a whole Broad-side, setting up a red Standard on his Topmast, as a Signal to the whole Fleet to prepare to fight. The Engagement began about four in the Afternoon, and lasted till nine at Night, with great Loss to the Enemy, and little Damage on our side, tho' their Fleet was double our Number. We took two of their Men of War in the Fight, one of which was brought away, and the other being very much shatter'd, sunk down as our Men were carrying her off. The Council of State having received an Account of this Action, made their Report of it to the Parliament, who passed a Vote for the justification of General *Blake*; and resolving to have Satisfaction for this Assault, placed a Guard upon the Dutch Ambassadors, at their Lodgings in *Chelsey*, and sent General *Cromwell* and Mr. *Denis Bond*, a Member of Parliament, down to the Fleet, with Assurances that nothing should be wanting for their Encouragement.

The Event of this Undertaking not answering the Expectations of the Hollanders; serving only to provoke the English Nation, and to publish their own Dishonour, they endeavoured to make the World as well as the Parliament believe, that the Quarrel was begun by General *Blake*, or at least that what had been done was not by their Orders; and therefore desired that

the Treaty might go on, and that the Prisoners taken in the late Fight might be restored. To this end they sent over the Heer *Pan* of *Heemsted* to carry on the Treaty in conjunction with the Ambassadors they had sent before into *England*. This Minister was received with all the usual Demonstrations of Honour, and being admitted to Audience, pressed for an Accommodation of all Differences, and a Cessation of all Acts of Hostility between the two Nations; assuring the Parliament that his Masters had given Orders to their Ships to strike to the English Flag, in the same manner as had been practised in former times: But being demanded to shew his Powers, he produced nothing save Letters of Credence and Passports, referring himself to the other Ambassadors in that Point, with whom he made some General Propositions to the Parliament, and desired them to declare their Demands. By these Proceedings of the Dutch, the Parliament perceiving that this Difference was not like to be decided by a Treaty, contented themselves to require Satisfaction for the Injuries received, and Assurance that nothing of that nature should be attempted for the future; which if the Ambassadors would consent to, they declared themselves ready to proceed in the Treaty, and to grant a Cessation of Arms. But so little were they disposed to give the Satisfaction demanded, that they made no farther mention of the Cessation which they had so earnestly pressed; and having taken their

Audience of Leave, they broke off the Treaty abruptly, and returned home.

In *Ireland*, tho the Number of those that submitted on condition to be transported into foreign Service, was so great, that they became a great Burden to us before we could procure Shipping for their Transportation; and tho the Enemy had received several Defeats by our Forces during the Winter, wherein many of them had been killed and taken; yet they continued to make Incursions into our Quarters, carying away Cattel and other Booty: and having lately seized upon the Horses belonging to two Troops of Dragoons, they were so encouraged, that *Sir Walter Dungan*, Commissary General of the Enemies Horse, and Capt. *Scurlock* a forward Officer, and one who had done us much Mischief, with five hundred Foot and two hundred and fifty Horse, marched into *Wexford*, with a Design to plunder that County. Lieutenant Colonel *Throgmorton*, who commanded in those Parts, having informed us of their March, we sent two Troops of Horse to his Assistance, who with them and about four hundred Foot charged the Enemy upon their Return, and after some Dispute routed them, killing two hundred of them upon the Place, and many more, with divers Officers, in the Pursuit; besides several of the Irish taken Prisoners, with the Loss of about twenty killed, and a hundred wounded on our side. The Booty which the Enemy had gotten
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consisting chiefly in five hundred Cows, was all recovered.

The Season of Action advancing, the Commissioners of Parliament went to *Kilkenny*, as well to confer with the Officers from all Parts of *Ireland*, as to make the necessary Preparations for the ensuing Service ; of which the Earl of *Westmeath*, who commanded the Enemies Forces in *Leinster*, having notice, sent to desire a safe Conduct for Commissioners to be named by them to treat with us at *Kilkenny* on their behalf ; which being granted, they appointed Commissary General *Dungan*, *Lewis* Viscount of *Glanmalier*; Sir *Robert Talbot*, Sir *Richard Bannell*, Col. *Walter Bagnol*, Col. *Lewis Moor*, and Col. *Thomas Tyrrell*, to be their Commissioners. And on our part, Commissary General *Reynolds*, Col. *Hewes*, Col. *Lawrence*, Col. *Axtel*, Adjutant General *Allen*, Major *Henry Owen*, and Mr. *James Standish*, Deputy-Treasurer of the Army, were commissioned to treat and conclude with them, in conformity to such Instructions as they received from a General Council ; and after several days Conference the Commissioners on each part came to an Agreement upon Terms that were the same in substance with those formerly granted to Col. *Edmund Odowyer* and his Party, with liberty left for the Lord *Muskerry*, Major General *Taaf*, and other Commanders of the Irish in the Provinces of *Munster*, *Connaught*, and *Ulster*, yet in Arms, to come in and accept of the same

same Conditions within a limited time. The Articles were approved by the Earl of *Westmeath* on the behalf of the Irish, and on the part of the Commonwealth of *England* by Me, as Commander in chief of their Forces in *Ireland*.

In the mean time the Committee appointed by the Parliament for the Reformation of the Law in *England*, made a considerable Progress in that matter: Judges were also sent into *Scotland* for the Administration of Justice there, which they performed to the great satisfaction of that People. The Parliament also appointed a Committee to consider of means to set at work all the Poor throughout the Nation, and to make Provision for such as were not able to work, that there might be no Beggar in *England*.

In *Scotland* our Forces having reduced the Castle of *Dunnotter*, which was the last Garison of that Nation that held out against the Parliament of *England*, it was resolved to make four considerable Forts, one at *Inverness*, another at *Leith*, a third at *Ayre*, and a fourth at *St. Johnstons*: and because the Enemy being entirely beaten out of the Field, was retired to the mountainous Parts, which to that time had been accounted inaccessible by the English; it was agreed to endeavour to clear those Places of them also, being perswaded that where any went before, others might follow after. To this end our Men were divided into three Parties:

ties : the first consisted of Colonel *Overtoun's* Regiment of Foot, and a Regiment of Horse, commanded by Major *Blackmore* : The second of Colonel *Hacker's* Regiment of Horse, and one of Foot commanded by Colonel *Lilburn* ; and the third was composed of the Regiment of Horse of Major General *Dean*, and of a Regiment of Foot belonging to Lieutenant General *Monk*. Each of these having a Party of Dragoons to attend them, rendezvouzed at *Loughaber*, and from thence fell separately into the Enemy's Quarters, where they killed many of them, and burned their Provisions, pursuing them so close, that as they fled from one Party, they fell into the hands of another ; by which means they were in a short time entirely dispersed.

The Irish that submitted according to the Articles, and delivered up their Arms and Horses to the Commissioners appointed by me to receive them, were in all about three thousand. But many of them finding themselves within that exception concerning the Murders of the English, or hoping to obtain better Conditions, or, it may be, taking pleasure in their predatory Life, continued still in Arms. Of this number was the Lord *Muskerry*, who commanded the Irish in *Munster*, and at the time of our Treaty with those of *Leinster*, had sent one Colonel *Poor* to *Kilkenny*, to acquaint us that he designed to come in upon the same Conditions ; but we suspecting his sincerity, by the means

means of some Letters which we intercepted, were not wanting to prepare what was necessary in order to reduce him and his Party by force ; and having finished our Affairs at *Kilbenny*, I removed with the Commissioners to *Clonmel*, and from thence to *Toughal*, and so to *Cork*.

The Rebels in *Connanght* and *Ulster*, instead of submitting, as was expected, got together a Body of about five thousand Men under the Conduct of the Earl of *Clawrickard* and Sir *Phelim O Neal*, with which they besieged and took the Fort of *Ballisbannon*. Whereupon Sir *Charles Coote* and Colonel *Venables* drew out what Forces they could, and advanced towards them with such expedition, that they were near the Place before the Enemy had notice of their March ; who finding themselves surprized, retreated to the Bogs, leaving a small Garison in *Ballisbannon* : but being pursued by our Men, who killed and wounded about three hundred of them, in which number were thirty Officers, and took from them seven or eight thousand Cows, upon whose Milk they chiefly subsisted, twelve hundred of them came in and laid down their Arms : upon which the Garison they had placed in *Ballisbannon*, surrendered upon Articles.

Major General *Lambert* making great Preparations to come over to us in the quality of Deputy to General *Cromwell*, the Commission of the said General to be Lieutenant of *Ireland* expired,

pired. Whereupon the Parliament took that Affair into their Consideration ; and tho there were not wanting many amongst them, who affirmed the Title and Office of Lieutenant to be more futable to a Monarchy than a Free Commonwealth, yet it was likely to have been carried for the renewing his Commission under the same Title. But he, having at that time another Part to act, stood up, and declared his satisfaction with what had been said against constituting a Lieutenant in *Ireland*, desiring that they would not continue him with that Character. Upon which the Question being put , the Parliament willing to believe him in earnest, ordered it according to his Motion. He farther moved, that tho they had not thought fit to continue a Lieutenant of *Ireland*, they would be pleased, in consideration of the worthy Person whom they had formerly approved to go over with the Title of Deputy, to continue that Character to him. But the Parliament having suppressed the Title and Office of a Lieutenant in *Ireland*, thought it altogether improper to constitute a Deputy , who was no more than the Substitute of a Lieutenant ; and therefore refused to consent to that Proposal, ordering that he should be inserted one of the Commissioners for Civil Affairs, and constituted Commander in chief of their Forces in *Ireland*. In the management of this Affair, Mr. *Weaver*, who was one of the Commissioners of *Ireland*, but then at *London*, and sitting in

in Parliament, was very active, to the great discontent of General *Cromwell*, who endeavouring to persuade the Parliament that the Army in *Ireland* would not be satisfied, unless their Commander in chief came over qualified as Deputy, Mr. *Weaver* assured them that upon his knowledge, all the sober People of *Ireland*, and the whole Army there, except a few factious Persons, were not only well satisfied with the present Government both Civil and Military of that Nation, but also with the Governours who managed the same ; and therefore moved that they would make no alteration in either, and renew their Commissions for a longer time. This discourse of Mr. *Weaver* tending to persuade the Parliament to continue me in the Military Command, increased the Jealousie which General *Cromwell* had conceived of me, that I might prove an obstruction to the Design he was carrying on to advance himself by the ruin of the Commonwealth. And therefore, since Major General *Lambert* refused to go over with any Character less than that of Deputy, he resolved by any means to place Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* at the head of Affairs in *Ireland*. By which Conduct he procured two great Advantages to himself, thereby putting the Army in *Ireland* into the hands of a person secured to his Interest by the Marriage of his Daughter ; and drawing Major General *Lambert* into an enmity towards the Parliament, prepared him to join with him in opposition to them, when he should find

find it convenient to put his Design in execution.

In the mean time I was not wanting in my endeavours to reduce the Enemy in *Ireland*, and to that end marched with about 4000 Foot and 2000 Horse towards *Ross* in *Kerry*; where the Lord *Muskerry* made his principal Rendezvouz, and which was the only place of Strength the Irish had left, except the Woods, Bogs and Mountains; being a kind of an Island, encompassed on every part by Water, except on one side, upon which there was a Bog not passable bur by a Causeway which the Enemy had fortified. In this Expedition I was accompanied by the Lord *Broughil*, and Sir *Hardress Waller*, Major General of the Foot. Being arrived at this Place, I was informed that the Enemy received continual Supplies from those parts that lay on the other side, and were covered with Woods and Mountains; whereupon I sent a Party of two thousand Foot to clear those Woods, and to find out some convenient place for the erecting a Fort, if there should be occasion. These Forces met with some opposition; but at last they routed the Enemy, killing some, and taking others Prisoners; the rest saved themselves by their good Footmanship. Whilst this was doing, I employed that Part of the Army which was with me in fortifying a Neck of Land, where I designed to leave a Party to keep in the Irish on this side, that I might be at liberty with the greatest part of the Horse and Foot to look after the Enemy abroad, and to receive and convoy such

such Boats and other things necessary as the Commissioners sent to us by Sea. When we had received our Boats, each of which was capable of containing a hundred and twenty Men, I ordered one of them to be rowed about the Water in order to find out the most convenient Place for Landing upon the Enemy : which they perceiving, thought fit, by a timely Submission, to prevent the Danger that threatned them ; and having expressed their Desires to that purpose, Commissioners were appointed on both Parts to treat. The Articles were the same in effect with those granted to the Irish in *Leinster* and other Places. But much time was spent in the discussion of some Particulars, especially that concerning the Murder of the English, which was an Exception we never failed to make ; so that the Irish Commissioners seeming doubtful whether by the wording that Article they were not all included, desired that it might be explained ; to which we consented, and it was accordingly done. They also made it their Request, that instead of that Article relating to their real Estates, whereby they were to enjoy such a part as should be allotted to them by the Qualifications to be agreed upon, it might be expressed, that they wholly submitted to the Mercy of the Parliament therein. The Exercise also of their Religion was earnestly insisted upon by them ; but we refused to oblige ourselves to any thing in that Particular, declaring
only,

only, that it was neither the Principle or Practice of the Authority which we served, to impose their way of Worship upon any by violent means. With these Explanations the Commissioners, after a Fortnight's Debate, concluded the Agreement, the Lord *Muskerry* and my self confirming it; his Son with Sir *Daniel O'bryan* were delivered to me as Hostages for the performance of the Articles: in consequence of which about five thousand Horse and Foot laid down their Arms, and surrendered their Horses.

Whilst this was doing in *Munster*, Col. *Grace* with some Forces that had not submitted, passed the *Shannon*, and being joined by many of the Irish of *Connaught* and *Galway*, began to grow considerable, being about three thousand; most of them Foot. Col. *Ingoldsby* having notice of them, drew together a Party about *Limerick*, and marching with them to find out the Enemy, attacked them at a Pass, which they disputed for some time; but our Horse breaking in upon some of their Foot, and encouraging the rest to fall on, the Irish quitted their Post, and shifted for themselves. In this Action many of them were killed and taken Prisoners, the rest escaping to the Bogs and Woods. After this Defeat Col. *Grace* and his Party was forced to submit, and to that end treated with Col. *Zanchez*, but found that his obstinate Resistance so long had done him no Service; for Col. *Zanchez* upon the Surrender of

Inch to him, and the Submission of Col. *Grace's* Forces, caused a Captain, a Lieutenant, and a Serjeant, with other Officers, to be shot to death, for revolting at *Carrick* to the Enemy, according to the Liberty he had reserved to himself in that case by the Capitulation. In the North of Ireland Col. *Theophilus Jones* being sent out with seven Troops of Horse, one of Dragoons, and three hundred Foot, to get Provisions for the Relief of those Parts, met with a Party of the Enemy, consisting of sixteen hundred Foot and three hundred Horse, whom he charged, and after a sharp Dispute routed, and put to flight, killing many of their Officers, and three hundred Soldiers upon the Place. All the Arms of their Foot were taken, and a hundred and fifty Horse, with the Loss only of six of our Men killed, and about twenty wounded. The Earl of *Clanrickard* finding the Irish Affairs in a desperate Condition, with what Forces he had left retired into the Isle of *Carrick*; where being encompassed by our Men on all sides, he submitted, and obtained Liberty to transport himself with three thousand Men to any foreign Country in Friendship with the Commonwealth, within the space of three Months.

The Parliament having already sent over to us five Companies of Foot under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel *Finch*, who had done very good Service at the Battel of *Worcester*, resolved to send eight hundred more out of the
Regi-

Regiment of Major Gen. *Lambert*, and an intire Regiment commanded by Col. *Clark*; which Forces were procured rather to promote the Designs of General *Cromwell*, than from any need we had of them; our Military Service in *Ireland*, by the Blessing of God, drawing towards a Conclusion, most of the Irish Forces having submitted and laid down their Arms, no Garison of any Strength holding out against us, and many Thousands of the Enemy sent into foreign Service. The Souldiers of *Lambert's* Regiment were countermanded upon his refusal to go to *Ireland* without the Character of Deputy; but the Regiment of Col. *Clark* being throughly principled for *Cromwell's* Design, continued their March by order of the Parliament, who were perswaded to constitute Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* Commander in Chief of their Forces in *Ireland*, and one of their Commissioners for the Civil Affairs in that Nation.

The States General, upon the Return of their Ambassadors from *England*, dispatched Orders to their Admiral to take all Advantages against the English, and solicited the King of *Denmark* to break with us also, encouraging him to detain twenty two English Merchant Ships which he had formerly seized coming through the *Sound*. The Parliament, to prevent the Dangers that might ensue by farther Delay, gave Orders to General *Blake* to fall upon the Subjects of *Holland* wheresoever he should meet

them, and particularly to interrupt their Fishery upon the Northern Coast, sending the Regiments of Col. *Ingoldsbey* and Col. *Goff* on board the Fleet. General *Blake* having received these Instructions, set sail for the North, where meeting with about six hundred Herring-Busses, under a Convoy of twelve Men of War, he took and sunk the whole Convoy; and having seized the Fish that the Busses had taken, he released all the Vessels with the Seamen belonging to them. Which Action was blamed by some, who thought that by the help of those Ships we might have been enabled to erect a Fishery, and thereby have made some Reparation to the English Nation for the Damages which they had sustained from the Dutch; and that by detaining their Mariners we might have weakened and distressed them considerably, they wanting Men for the management of their Shippings. In the mean time Sir *George Ayscue*, who was lately returned from the Reduction of *Barbadoes*, and had convoyed into the River five Merchant Ships richly laden from the *East Indies*, fell upon a Fleet of *Hollanders* consisting of forty Merchant-men under the Convoy of four Men of War. Of this Fleet he took seven, forced divers on shore, and the rest narrowly escaped. About the same time a Ship from *Guiny*, valued at forty thousand Pounds, was by some of ours taken from the Dutch, with many other rich Ships, to the great Prejudice and Interruption of their Trade. To apply

ply some Remedy to this, the Dutch Admiral with his Fleet came into the *Downs*, and anchored by Sir *George Aysae*, who was retired unto *Dover* Castle, being much inferiour in Number to the Enemy; but the Hollanders after a short stay left our Fleet, and set sail, without attempting any thing against us. At *Leghorn* some of their Men of War preparing to seize such English Merchants Ships as lay in that Port, the Grand Duke sent a Message to the Dutch, to let them know, that if they committed any Acts of Hostility against the English Nation in that Harbour, their Goods in the Town should be responsible for it. Admiral *Blake* returned to the *Downs*, and being informed that a French Fleet was going to relieve *Dunkirk*, then besieged by the Spaniards, called a Council of War, and by their Advice sent a Squadron after them, which coming up with the French, took divers of their Ships, and dispersed the rest; by which means chiefly the Town was soon after surrendered.

The Irish being reduced to Extremity, and most of the Country in the hands of the English, the Parliament resolved to give the Adventurers Possession of Lands proportionable to the several Sums they had advanced, and also to satisfy the Areams of the Army out of the same, as they had formerly promised: which that they might be enabled to perform, they passed an Act, confiscating so much of the Estates of those who had acted against the

English, as they judged the Quality of their Crimes to require, and extending their Clemency to those who had carried themselves peaceably. In the mean time that I might bring such as remained yet in Arms against us to a necessity of submitting, I marched with a Party of about four thousand Horse and Foot; and having scoured the Counties of *Wexford* and *Wicklo*, placing Garisons where I thought convenient, I went to *Tredagh*, where I met the rest of the Parliament's Commissioners; and having staid eight days in that Place to settle Affairs, I continued my March into the County of *Meath*, and coming to *Carrick Mac Ross*, a House belonging to the Earl of *Essex*, where the Rebels had barbarously murdered one Mr. *Blany* a Justice of Peace in that Country, I caused it to be fortified, and put a Garison in it, being advantageously situated to restrain the Enemies ExcurSIONs. From hence I went to visit the Garison of *Dundalk*, and being upon my Return, I found a Party of the Enemy retired within a hollow Rock, which was discovered by one of ours, who saw five or six of them standing before a narrow Passage at the Mouth of the Cave. The Rock was so thick, that we thought it impossible to dig it down upon them, and therefore resolved to try to reduce them by Smoak. After some of our Men had spent most part of the day in endeavouring to smother those within by Fire placed at the Mouth of the Cave, they withdrew the
Fire,

Fire, and the next Morning supposing the Irish to be made incapable of Resistance by the Smoak, some of them with a Candle before them crawled into the Rock. One of the Enemy who lay in the middle of the Entrance fired his Pistol, and shot the first of our Men into the Head, by whose Loss we found that the Smoak had not taken the designed effect. But seeing no other way to reduce them, I caused the Trial to be repeated, and upon examination found that tho a great Smoak went into the Cavity of the Rock, yet it came out again at other Crevices; upon which I ordered those Places to be closely stopped, and another Smother made. About an hour and half after this, one of them was heard to groan very strongly, and afterwards more weakly, where-by we presumed that the Work was done; yet the Fire was continued till about Midnight, and then taken away, that the Place might be cool enough for ours to enter the next Morning. At which time some went in armed with Back, Breast, and Head piece, to prevent such another Accident as fell out at their first Attempt; but they had not gone above six Yards before they found the Man that had been heard to groan, who was the same that had killed one of our Men with his Pistol, and who resolving not to quit his Post, had been, upon stopping the holes of the Rock, choaked by the Smoak. Our Souldiers put a Rope about his Neck, and drew him out. The Passage being

cleared, they entered, and having put about fifteen to the Sword, brought four or five out alive, with the Priest's Robes, a Crucifix, Chalice, and other Furniture of that kind. Those within preserved themselves by laying their Heads close to a Water that ran through the Rock. We found two Rooms in the Place, one of which was large enough to turn a Pike; and having filled the Mouth of it with large Stones, we quitted it, and marched to *Castle-Blany*, where I left a Party of Foot, and some Horse, as I had done before at *Carrick* and *Nemry*, whereby that part of the County of *Monaghan* was pretty well secured. We continued our March to *Monaghan*, and so to *Aghur*, where we cast up some Works, and left a Garrison to defend it. Near this Place lay the *Creight* of Lieutenant General *O Neal*, Son to that *O Neal* who after several Years Imprisonment in the Tower of *London* died there: He came over from the Service of the King of *Spain* to be Lieutenant General to the Army of *Owen Roe O Neal*; but upon some Jealousy or particular Discontent was laid aside. This Man with his Wife, who he said was Niece to the Dutchess of *Artois*, and some Children, removed, as the Irish do generally in those Parts, with their Tenants and Cattel, from one Place to another; where there is Conveniency of Grass, Water and Wood; and there having built a House, which they do compleatly in an hour or two, they stay till they want Grass, and

and then dislodg to another Station. This way of living is accompanied with many Inconveniences to the Publick Service; for they not only give shelter to the Enemy, but take all Advantages themselves both to plunder and kill, none knowing whence they come, or whither they go, and so can neither easily be prevented nor found out. From hence I marched to *Innishillin* in the County of *Fermagh*, that I might take a view of the Place, and likewise provide Materials to fortify *Lesneskey*, otherwise *Bally Ballyfoer*, and to reduce an Island kept by the Irish in *Loughbern*, with another Fort, they possessed near *Bulturbet*. Being at *Lesneskey*, I was met by Commissary General *Reynolds*, who with a Party of Horse and Foot had dispersed the Enemy in *Letrim*. Having fortified this Place, and made some Preparations for the Reduction of the Island before-mentioned, I received Advice from the Commissioners of Parliament at *Dublin*, that Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* had landed at *Waterford*, and was gone to *Kilkenny*, where they designed to attend him. The News of his Arrival was very welcome to me, having found my Care and Fatigues recompensed only with Envy and Hatred; and therefore having given Orders where I was for the carrying on the Publick Service, I hastned after the Commissioners; and being come to *Kilkenny*, I saluted the Commander in Chief, and congratulated his safe Arrival; after which I gave him an Account

count of the Affairs of the Army, with Assurances of my Resolution to obey his Orders. In this place Col. *Walter Bagnal*, who had been one of the Hostages delivered to us for the performance of the Treaty concluded with those of the Province of *Leinster*, was by the Marshal detained Prisoner upon an Accusation brought against him for the Murder of an English-Man: which Crime being excepted out of those Articles, and all others at any time granted to the Irish, the Commissioners thought themselves obliged in duty to put him upon his Trial, and to that end caused him to be brought before them, where upon full Proof they condemned him to be shot to death; which Sentence was executed accordingly. The Lieutenant General remained some time at *Kilkenny*; but the Commissioners having dispatched their Affairs in those Parts, returned to *Dublin*, and I accompanied them thither.

The *Holland Fleet* appearing off the *Goodwin Sands*, Admiral *Blake* hastened the Foot Souldiers aboard, and set Sail after them; but they tacked about, and made away towards the French Coast; where being joined by the Ships commanded by Vice Admiral *De Ruyter*, they returned towards our Fleet, and came within six Leagues of the North Foreland. Capt. *Mildmay* in the *Nonpareille*, about four in the Afternoon, exchanged some Shot with them; and soon after the English Admiral, with a few more, came up also, the rest of the Fleet by reason

reason of bad Weather being yet far behind. The Dutch kept themselves close together, firing several single Shot at ours, which our Admiral thought not fit to answer, till the rest of his Fleet was come up to him, and then he began to fire on the Admiral of *Holland*. The Fight lasted from five till seven, when Night parted them, the Reer-Admiral of the Enemy having lost all his Masts, and two more of their Ships most part of their Rigging. Capt. *Mildmay* followed them close, and being come up with them, commanded his small Shot to be fired into that Ship that made most sail, immediately after which he boarded and took her. This done, he pursued another, and in half an hour overtook her, and forced her to yield also. In one of these Ships was the Dutch Reer-Admiral, whom Capt. *Mildmay* took out, with the rest of the Men, and then let her sink, she being so disabled, that he despaired of bringing her off. The next Morning our Fleet pursued the Dutch, who made away with all possible speed, and about four in the Afternoon bore up with them; but none of our great Ships except the Admiral being able to reach them, the Night separated them again. The next day the Dutch recovered *Goree* and others of their Harbours, so that our Fleet thought fit to desist any farther pursuit of them. On our side we had but three of our Men and Capt. *Jarvis* killed, with about twenty wounded. The Enemies Loss was considerable, many of their
Men

Men being killed and wounded, besides several taken Prisoners ; and three of their Ships sunk and taken. Fourteen more were also brought into their Ports much damaged in the Engagement, with great Numbers of wounded Men on board. Their Fleet coming to *Gorée*, the Captains were forbidden to come ashore till Enquiry should be made touching those who had refused to fight in the first Encounter with the English. Hereupon the Enmity of the Dutch against the English Nation grew to such a height, that to render them odious, and to encourage their own Subjects to come in to serve against them, they caused the Execution of the late King to be represented on the Stage in a most tragical manner : Insomuch that those of the Prince of *Orange's* Party were not without hopes that the States of *Holland* would rather surrender their Liberties to the Prince, than quietly suffer *England* to live under the Government of a Commonwealth. Some Prejudice we received in two Encounters with the Dutch in the Mediterranean Sea ; but those slight Successes were wholly owing to their Number, and not at all to their Courage or Conduct.

The Parliament gave Audience to Ambassadors from *Venice* and *Portugal*, referring the Consideration of their Instructions to the Council of State, who were required to report their Opinions touching them to the Parliament. They also ordered a Letter to be drawn up and dispatched to the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, to give

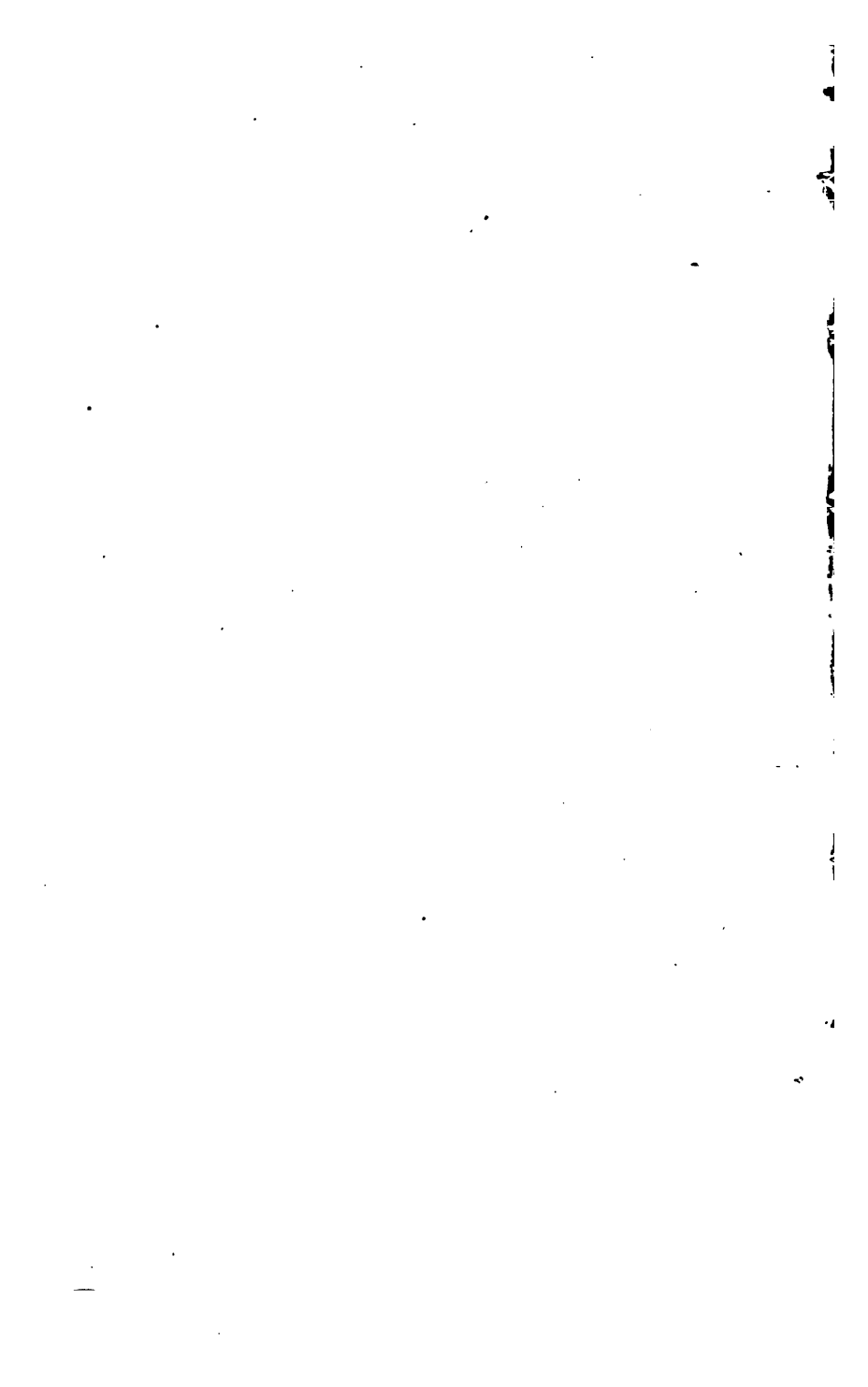
give him Thanks for the good Usage received from him by the English Merchants at *Legborn*. About the same time thirty Frigats were appointed to be built, as well to increase the Fleet, as to secure the Trade of the Nation by Cruising. Eighteen Men of War were likewise sent into the *Sound* under the Conduct of Capt. *Hall*, who at his Arrival before *Elfenore*, delivered a Letter to the Governour of that Place for the King of *Denmark*, with Assurances that he was come thither for no other end than to convoy home two and twenty English Merchant Ships formerly seized by the said King at *Copenhagen*. The King of *Denmark* seemed much offended that Capt. *Hall* had entred the *Sound* without his leave, and sent four thousand Men to *Cronenburg* and *Elfenore*, to reinforce those Places, giving Orders to his Fleet to join with the *Hollanders*, who were not far off, and to fight the English in case they attacked the Dutch. These great Preparations obliged Capt. *Hall* to retire from thence, and to return to *Newcastle*. Hereupon the Danish Ambassador at *London* had his Audience of Leave from the Parliament, and his Master began to prepare twenty Ships of War for the Assistance of the Dutch, alledging himself bound so to do by a Treaty with them: In order to which he caused the Goods belonging to the English to be taken out of the two and twenty Ships before-mentioned, and to be sold, declaring openly for the *Hollanders*.

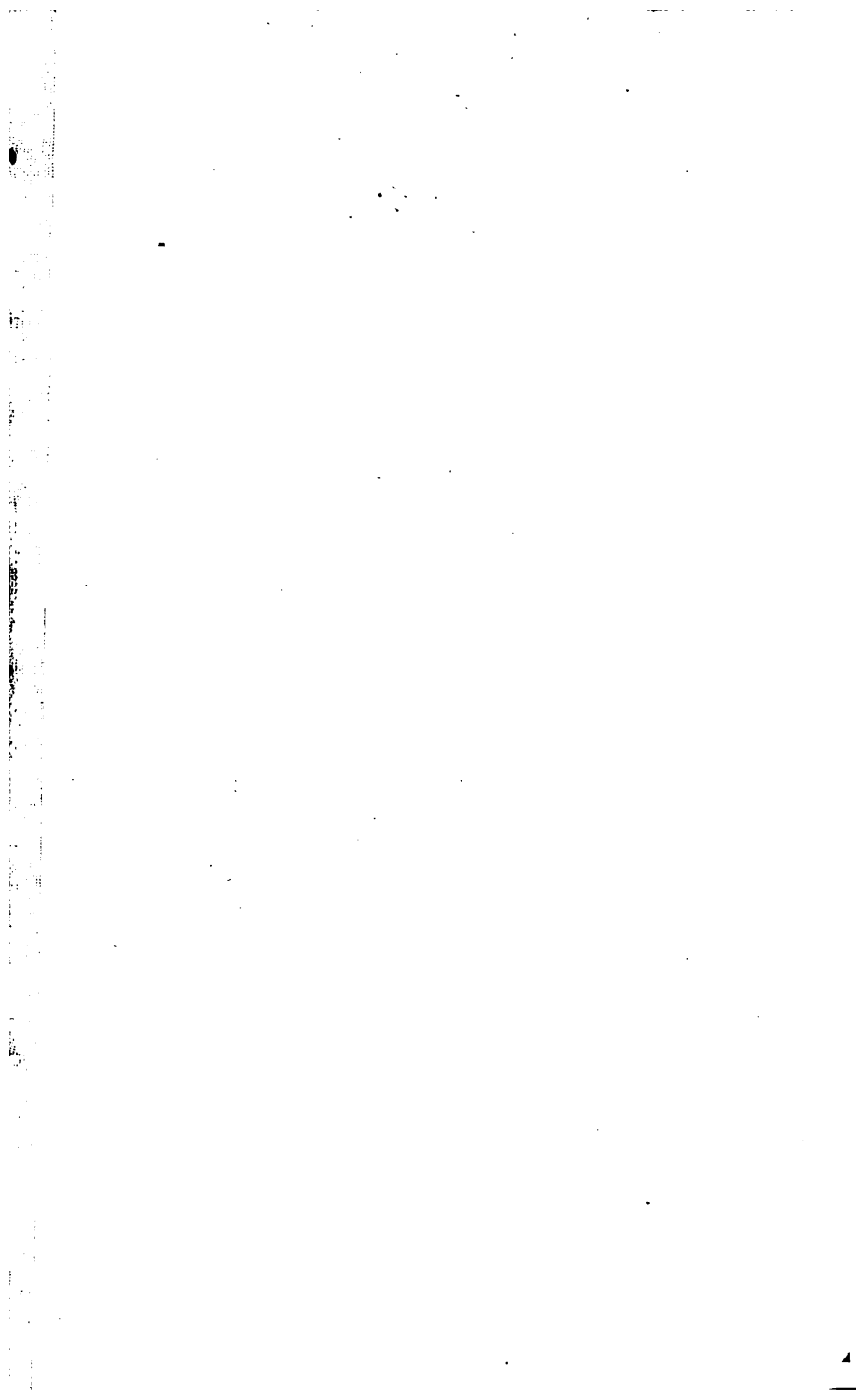
In the mean time the Reformation of the Law went on but slowly, it being the Interest of the Lawyers to preserve the Lives, Liberties and Estates of the whole Nation in their own hands. So that upon the Debate of *Registering Deeds in each Country, for want of which; within a certain time fixed after the Sale, such Sales should be void, and being so registred, that Land should not be subject to any Incumbrance* : This word *Incumbrance* was so managed by the Lawyers, that it took up three Months time before it could be ascertained by the Committee.

The End of the First Part.

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